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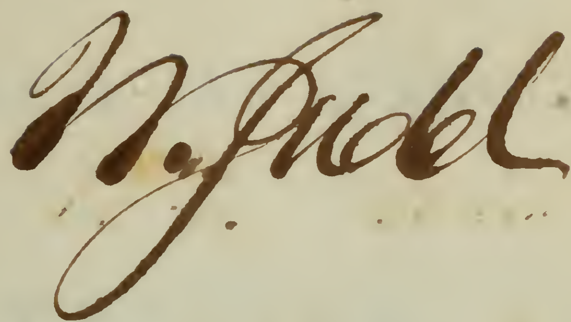
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THE

GERMANIA AND AGRICOLA

OF

TACITUS,

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, FROM THE BEST AND LATEST AUTHORITIES; THE REMARKS OF BÖTTICHER ON THE STYLE OF TACITUS; AND A COPIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

BY

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PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK, AND RECTOR OF THE GRAMMAR-SCHOOL.

NEW YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
82 CLIFF STREET.
1850.

TO

HENRY DRISLER, A.M.,

ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE,

This Work is Dedicated,

AS A MEMORIAL OF LONG AND UNINTERRUPTED FRIENDSHIP,
AND A SINCERE TESTIMONIAL

OF RESPECT

FOR ABILITIES OF A HIGH ORDER, UNITED TO ACCURATE,
EXTENSIVE, AND UNTIRING SCHOLARSHIP.

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PREFACE.

The basis of the present work is the English edition of Dr. Smith, published in 1840, the notes to which are principally selected from the commentaries of Ruperti, Passow, and Walch. It has been the object of the American editor to render these notes still more useful by additional selections from the works of other scholars, and by a more frequent translation of difficult or obscure passages. One great defect in the English edition is the omission of almost all special reference to the authorities whence the notes have been obtained. The American editor has endeavored to supply this deficiency, as far as lay in his power, more particularly in the commentary on the Germania. The notes on the Agricola, in the English edition, are pretty much one continuous selection from the excellent commentary of Walch, to which, however, the American editor has added much valuable information obtained from the same source, as well as from other quarters.

The result, therefore, is, that the student is here presented with the richest and most extensive commentary on the Germania and Agricola that has ever appeared in the English language. This remark is not made in any feeling of arrogance. The American editor claims little for himself beyond the mere selection of materials, and therefore feels per-

fectly at liberty to express his opinion of the value of those materials. The notes of Walch, in particular, on the Agricola, which consist, in the original, of more than three hundred closely printed octavo pages, form undoubtedly, as has been remarked by the English editor, "one of the most valuable commentaries ever published upon any classical author."

The "Remarks on the Style of Tacitus," appended to the English edition, and reprinted in this, are translated from a work of Bötticher, "*De vita, scriptis, ac stilo Taciti*," Berlin, 1834, and which, to borrow again the language of Dr. Smith, "is well known to be a very excellent introduction to the study of the style and writings of Tacitus." The Geographical Index is confined, as will be perceived, to the Germania, and enters somewhat fully into the subsequent movements of the German tribes. The Geography of Britain, being of minor importance, has been explained at once in the notes to the Agricola. The materials for the Index have been obtained in a great measure from the commentary in the English edition, and the present work will be found to have gained in this way a decided advantage by the separation of the geographical from the explanatory matter. It is a great, but very common mistake, to suppose that the ancient Geography of Germany and Britain, especially the former, requires at the present day but little elucidation. The student needs only to turn over a few pages of Mannert to perceive how utterly erroneous is such an opinion.

It remains but to give a list of the different editions of Tacitus, as well as of the other works from which aid has been obtained for the present volume.

1. Taciti Opera, ed. Brotier, Glasg., 1796, 4 vols., 4to.
2. Taciti Opera, ex recensione Ernesti, ed. Oberlin, Oxon., 1813, 4 vols., 8vo.
3. Taciti Opera, ed. Walther, Hal. Sax., 1831, seqq., 4 vols., 8vo.
4. Taciti Opera, ed. Imm. Bekker, Lips., 1831, 2 vols., 8vo.
5. Taciti Opera, ed. Exter, Bipont., 4 vols., 8vo.
6. Taciti Opera, ed. Naudet, Paris, 1820, 5 vols., 8vo. (Lemaire's Collect.)
7. Taciti Opera, ed. Valpy (In Us. Delph.), Lond., 8 vols., 8vo.

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8. Phil. Cluveri Germaniæ Antiquæ lib. iii., Lugd. Bat., ap. Elz., 1616, fol.
9. Taciti Germania, vollständig erläutert, von Dilthey, Braunschw., 1823, 8vo.
10. Taciti Germania, ed. Gerlach, Basil., 1835, 8vo.
11. Taciti Germania, ed. Weishaupt, Solod., 1844, 8vo.
12. La Germanie de Tacite, par Panckoucke, Paris, 1824, 8vo.
13. Tacitus's Agrikola, ed. Walch, Berlin, 1828, 8vo.
14. Taciti Agricola, ed. Dronke, Fuldæ, 1834, 8vo.
15. Taciti Agricola, ed. Becker, Hamburg, 1826, 8vo.
16. Germany and Agricola of Tacitus, ed. Barker, Lond., 1824.
17. Tacitus's Germany, Agricola, &c., ed. Smith, Lond., 1840.

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18. Des C. C. Tacitus sämmtliche Werke übersetzt von Bötticher, Berlin, 1834, 2 vols., 8vo.
19. Lexicon Taciteum, scripsit Guil. Bötticher, Berolini, 1830, 8vo.
20. Tacite, traduit par Dureau de Lamalle, ed. Noël, Paris, 1828, 6 vols., 8vo.
21. La Vie d'Agricola, et des Mœurs des Germains, par M. l'Abbé de la Bleterie, Paris, 1788, 12mo.
22. Germany and Agricola of Tacitus, by John Aikin, M.D., 4th ed., Oxford, 1823, 12mo.
23. Works of Tacitus, by Murphy, N. Y., 1822, 6 vols., 8vo.

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24. Mannert, Geschichte der alten Deutschen, &c., Stuttg., 1829, 8vo.
25. Adelung, aelteste Geschichte der Deutschen, Leipz., 1806, 8vo.
26. Menzel, Geschichte der Deutschen, Stuttg 1837, 4to.
27. Luden, Geschichte der Deutschen, Gotha, 1825, 2 vols., 8vo.
28. Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer (vol. ii. and iii.).
29. Schirlitz, Handbuch der alten Geographie, Halle, 1837, 8vo.

30. Kruse, Archiv. für alte Geographie, &c., Breslau, 1821, seqq., 12mo.
31. Kruse, Deutsche Alterthümer, Halle, 1824, seqq., 12mo.
32. Klemm, Germanische Alterthumskunde, Dresden, 1836, 8vo.
33. Reichard, Sammlung kleiner Schriften, &c., Güns, 1836, 8vo.
34. Böhmens heidnische Opferplätze, Gräber, &c., Prag., 1836, 8vo.
35. Barth, über die Druiden der Kelten, Erlangen., 1826, 8vo.
36. Graff, Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz, &c., Berlin, 1834–8, 4 vols., 4to.
37. Du Cange, Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis, ed. Henschel, Paris, 1840, seqq., 4to.

It is the intention of the editor to publish at some future day select portions of the "Annals" and "Histories," and also the "Dialogue on the Causes of the Decline of Eloquence." In the mean time, he hopes that the present volume may not be unsuccessful in enabling the student to cultivate an acquaintance with a part of the writings of Tacitus.

Columbia College, N. Y., Aug. 18th, 1847.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS.*

"Caius Cornelius Tacitus was probably born in the reign of Nero, but neither the place of his birth, nor the exact date, is known, nor is any thing ascertained of his parentage. There is no reason for supposing that he belonged to the illustrious patrician gens of the Cornelii, nor any evidence of his having been born at Interamna, in Umbria (the modern *Terni*), as is sometimes stated. The few facts of his life are chiefly collected from his own works, and from the letters of his friend, the younger Pliny. Tacitus was about the same age as Pliny, but the elder of the two. Pliny was born about A.D. 61, in the reign of Nero, which commenced A.D. 54. A passage of the elder Pliny (*H. N.*, vii., 16) speaks of a son of Cornelius Tacitus, the procurator of the emperor in Belgic Gaul. Lipsius concludes that this Cornelius Tacitus was the historian; but as Pliny died in A.D. 79, it seems hardly probable that the passage can apply to him. It has been conjectured that the procurator was the father of the historian.

"Tacitus states that he owed his first promotion to Vespasian, and that he was indebted for other favors to his successors, Titus and Domitian (*Hist.*, i., 1). In the year A.D. 77, C. Julius Agricola, then consul, betrothed to him his daughter; and the marriage took place after Agricola's consulship. Tacitus does not state what places he filled under Vespasian and Titus, but in the reign of Domitian he informs us that he assisted as one of the Quindecimviri, at the celebration of the Ludi Sæculares, which event took place in the fourteenth consulship of Domitian (A.D. 88). At that time he was also prætor (*Ann.*, xi., 11). He was not at Rome when his father-in-law, Agricola, died there (A.D. 93), in the reign of Domitian; but it is too much to affirm, as some have done, that he was an exile during the time of this emperor. It has already been shown that he was at Rome in A.D. 88. A passage in his Life of Agricola (c. 45) rather leads to the inference that he was at Rome during many of the atrocities which Domitian perpetrated after the death of Agricola, though he had been absent from Rome for four years prior to Agricola's death. On the decease of T. Virginius Rufus, in the reign of Nerva (A.D. 97),

* *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xxiii., p. 504, *seqq.*

he was appointed Consul Suffectus, and Pliny enumerates it as the crowning event to the good fortune of Virginius, that his panegyric was pronounced by the Consul Cornelius Tacitus, the most eloquent of speakers.

"Tacitus is recorded by his friend Pliny as one of the most eloquent orators of his age. He had already attained to some distinction as an advocate when Pliny was commencing his career. In the reign of Nerva, Pliny and Tacitus were appointed by the senate (A.D. 99) to conduct the prosecution of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa, and was charged with various flagrant crimes. On this occasion Tacitus replied to Salvius Liberalis, who had spoken in defence of Priscus. His reply, says Pliny, was most eloquent, and marked by that dignity which characterized his style of speaking. (*Plin.*, *Ep.*, ii., 11.)

"The contemporaries of Tacitus were Quintilian, the two Plinies, Julius Florus, Maternus, M. Aper, and Vipsanius Messala. He was on terms of the greatest intimacy with the younger Pliny, in whose extant collection of letters there are eleven epistles from Pliny to Tacitus. In one of these letters (vi., 16) Pliny describes the circumstance of the death of his uncle, Pliny the elder, and the letter was purposely written to supply Tacitus with facts for his historical works. It is not known when Tacitus died, nor whether he left any children. The Emperor Tacitus claimed the honor of being descended from him, but we have no means of judging of the accuracy of the emperor's pedigree; and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.*, lib. iv., *ad Polemium*) mentions the historian Tacitus among the ancestors of Polemius, a prefect of Gaul in the fifth century of our era.

"The extant works of Tacitus are the 'Life of Agricola,' 'the Treatise on the Germans,' 'Histories,' 'Annals,' and the 'Dialogue on Orators; or, the Causes of the Decline of Eloquence.' None of his Orations are preserved.

"The 'Life of Agricola' is one of the earliest works of Tacitus, and must have been written after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96). The Procemium, or Introduction to it, was written in the reign of Trajan, and the whole work probably belongs to the first or second year of that emperor's reign. As a specimen of biography, it is much and justly admired. Like all the extant works of Tacitus, it is unencumbered with minute irrelevant matter. The life and portrait of Agricola are sketched in a bold and vigorous style, corresponding to the dignity of the subject. The biographer was the friend and son-in-law of Agricola, whom he loved and revered, but he impresses his reader with a profound conviction of the moral greatness of Agricola, his courage, and his prudence, without ever becoming his panegyrist.

The 'Life of Agricola' was not contained in the earliest editions of Tacitus.

"The 'Germany' of Tacitus has been the subject of some discussion as to its historical value. The author does not inform us whence he drew his materials for the description of the usages of these barbarians, many of whom could only be known by hearsay even to the Roman traders and adventurers on the frontiers of the empire. The work contains numerous minute and precise details, for which it must be assumed that the writer had at least the evidence of persons conversant with the German tribes on the frontiers; and there is nothing in the description of Tacitus which is substantially at variance with what we know of the early Germans from other sources. The soundest conclusion is, that the picture of the Germans is in the main correct; otherwise we must assume it to be either a mere fiction, or a rhetorical essay founded on a few generally known facts; but neither of these assumptions will satisfy a careful reader.

"The 'Histories,' which were written before the 'Annals,' and after the death of Nerva, comprehended the period from the accession of Galba to the death of Domitian; to which it was the author's intention to add the reigns of Nerva and Trajan (*Hist.*, i., 1). There are only extant the first four books and a part of the fifth, and these comprehend little more than the events of one year, from which we may conclude that the whole work must have consisted of many books. Unfortunately, the fifth book contains only the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.

"The 'Annals' comprehended the history of Rome from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero, a period of fifty-two years, which ended with the extinction of the Julian house in Nero. A part of the fifth book of the 'Annals' is lost; the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, the beginning of the eleventh, and the end of the sixteenth and last book, are also lost. These last portions comprehended the whole reign of Caligula, the first years of Claudius, and the last two years of Nero's reign. It is said that the preservation of the historical works of Tacitus is due to the Emperor Tacitus (*Vopisc.*, *Tacit.*, 10), who caused them to be transcribed ten times a year, and copies to be placed in the libraries. But the works of Tacitus, and more particularly the 'Annals,' were neglected during the decline of the empire, and few copies of them were preserved. The first five books of the 'Annals' were not found till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they were discovered in the Abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, and published at Rome, in 1515, by Philip Bervaldus.

"The Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence may have been written in the reign of Vespasian: it is at least probable that it is an early

work of Tacitus. It has been sometimes doubted if it is by Tacitus, but the style is in favor of the common opinion, though it presents in many respects a marked contrast to the 'Annals,' the work of his mature years. Messala, one of the speakers, attributes the decline of oratory to the neglect of the arduous method of study adopted by the older orators, who learned their art by attaching themselves to some eminent speaker, and by experience in the actual business of life: in Messala's time, the school of the rhetoricians was the only place of discipline for the young. But Maternus, another speaker, indicates more truly the causes of the decline of eloquence, by a reference to the political condition of the Romans, and the suppression of their energies under the empire, as compared with the turbulent activity of the Republican period.

"The 'Annals' of Tacitus are the work of his riper age, on which his historical reputation mainly rests. Though entitled Annals, and in general sufficiently true to the chronological order of events, the title of Annals conveys no exact notion of the character of this work. The writer moulded the matter of his history, and adapted it to his purpose, which was not a complete enumeration of the domestic and foreign events of the period, but a selection of such as portrayed in the liveliest colors the character of the Romans. The central figure in this picture is the imperial power, and the person who wielded it, the Princeps, and every event is viewed in relation to him. The notion of the Romans of the age of Tacitus is inseparably associated with the notion of the government of one man. The power that had been founded and consolidated by Augustus had been transmitted through many princes, few of whom had distinguished themselves by ability, and some had sullied the purple with the most abominable crimes. Yet the imperial power was never shaken after it was once firmly established, and the restoration of the old Republic was never seriously contemplated by any sober thinker. The necessity of the imperial power was felt, and the historian, while he describes the vices and follies of those who had held it, and often casts a glance of regret toward the Republican period, never betrays a suspicion that this power could be replaced by any other, in the abject and fallen state of the Roman people. It is this conviction which gives to the historical writings of Tacitus that dramatic character which pervades the whole, and is seen in the selection of events, and the mode in which they are presented to the reader. It is consistent with this that the bare facts, as they may be extracted from his narrative, are true, and that the coloring with which he has heightened them may often be false. This coloring was his mode of viewing the progress of events, and the development of the imperial power:

the effect, however, is, that the reader often overlooks the bare historical facts, and carries away only the general impression which the historian's animated drama presents.

"Tacitus had formed a full, and, it may be, a correct conception of the condition of the empire in his own time, and the problem which he proposed to himself was, not only to narrate the course of events from the close of the reign of Augustus, but to develop their causes. (*Hist.*, i., 4.) For his 'Annals,' at least, he could claim, as he does, the merit of strict impartiality: he lived after the events that he describes, and, consequently, had no wrongs to complain of, no passions or prejudices to mislead him. (*Ann.*, i., 1.) He observes, also, in the commencement of his 'Histories,' that neither Galba, Otho, nor Vitellius had either conferred on him any favor or done him any injury. To Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian he acknowledges his obligations. The reign of Domitian is, unfortunately, lost; but we may collect from the expressions in the 'Life of Agricola' (c. 43, 45, &c.) that the favors which Tacitus had received did not save this contemptible tyrant from the historian's just indignation.

"The tone which characterizes the historical works of Tacitus is an elevation of thought which had its foundation in the moral dignity of the writer, and the consciousness of having proposed to himself a noble object. He was a profound observer of character: it was his study to watch the slightest indications in human conduct, and by correctly interpreting these outward signs, to penetrate into the hidden recesses of the heart. His power of reaching those thoughts which are often almost unconsciously the springs of a man's actions, has, perhaps, never been equalled by any historical writer. Tacitus had lived through a time when the value of the lessons of philosophy had to be tested by their practical application, and his historical studies carried him through a period in which the mass were sunk in sensuality, and the really good and great had no consolation but in the consciousness of their own thoughts. Though he appears to belong to no sect of philosophers, his practical morality was of the Stoic school, the only school which, in those degenerate times, could sustain the sinking spirits of the Romans, and which, even under favorable circumstances, guided the conduct of the wise Cornelius, the noblest man that ever possessed sovereign power. The religious opinions of Tacitus partook of the character of his age: he had no strong convictions, no settled belief of a moral government of the world: his love of virtue and his abhorrence of vice were purely moral; they had no reference to a future existence. (*Ann.*, iii., 18; vi., 22.) In one of his earliest productions he hopes, rather than expects, that the souls of the departed may still live, and be conscious

of what is passing on earth. (*Agric.*, 46.) But in his latest writings there are no traces that his hopes or his wishes had ever ripened into a belief.

"The style of Tacitus, especially in his 'Annals,' is the apt expression of his thought: concise, vigorous, and dramatic. He has, perhaps, attained as great a degree of condensation as is compatible with perspicuity; sometimes his meaning is obscured by his labor to be brief. His historical works are especially works of art, constructed on a fixed principle, and elaborated in obedience to it. He loves to display his rhetorical skill, but he subdues it to his dramatic purpose. It is a fault that his art is too apparent, that his thoughts are sometimes imperfectly or obscurely expressed, that he affects an air of mystery, that his reflections on events are often an inseparable part of them, and, consequently, the impressions which it is his object to produce can only be rectified by the vigorous scrutiny of a matured mind. Yet those who have made Tacitus a study generally end in admiring him, even for some of those qualities which at first repelled: almost every word has its place and its meaning, and the contrast between the brevity of the expression and the fullness of the thought, as it marks the highest power of a writer, so it furnishes fit matter for reflection to those who have attained a like intellectual maturity.

"Tacitus must have had abundant sources of information, though he indicates them only occasionally. He mentions several of those historians who lived near his own time, as Vipsanius Messala and Fabius Rusticus; he also speaks of the memoirs of Agrippina and others. The Orationes Principum, the Fasti, the Acts of the Senate, and the various legislative measures, were also sources of which he availed himself. It has been already intimated that the minute detail of events was often foreign to the purpose of Tacitus, and, accordingly, he is sometimes satisfied with giving the general effect or meaning of a thing, without aiming at perfect accuracy. Thus we can not always collect with certainty from Tacitus the provisions of the Senatus Consulta of which he speaks; and for the purpose of any historical investigation of Roman legislation, his statements must sometimes be enlarged or corrected by reference to other sources, and particularly to the 'Digest.'"

TABLE

OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF TACITUS.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Age of Tacitus.	
53	806		Caius Cornelius Tacitus was probably born in this year, at Interamna, in Umbria, called at the present day *Terni.*
54	807	2	Claudius dies on the 13th of October, and is succeeded by Nero.
58	811	6	Quintus Veranius succeeds Aulus Didius in the command of Britain, and dies in the same year.
59	812	7	Quintus Veranius is succeeded in the command of
60	813	8	Britain by Suetonius Paulinus, fifth consular legatus, who is accompanied, most probably, by Agricola as military tribune. [Agricola was at that time twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. He was born on the 13th of June, A.D. 37, at Forum Julii (*Frejus*) in Gaul.]
61	814	9	Expedition of Paulinus to Mona. General insurrection of the Britons under Boadicea.
62	815	10	Suetonius Paulinus is succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus, sixth consular legatus. Agricola (aged twenty-five) returns to Rome, marries Domitia Decidiana, and is a candidate for the quæstorship.
63	816	11	Agricola (aged twenty-six) quæstor in Asia. His eldest son dies after the birth of a daughter. Nero marries Poppæa.
64	817	12	Petronius Turpilianus is succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, seventh consular legatus. Britain, as far as Anglesea, mostly under the Roman dominion. Agricola returns to Rome, and spends the rest of the year in quiet.
65	818	13	Agricola (aged twenty-eight) tribune of the plebs. Piso's conspiracy against Nero. Seneca and Lucan put to death. Great fire at Rome. Persecution of the Christians.
66	819	14	Agricola (aged twenty-nine) is a candidate for the prætorship. Tacitus receives instructions from some of the most celebrated rhetoricians of his time; among others, from Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, and Quintilian. Death of Pætus Thrasea.
67	820	15	Agricola (aged thirty) is prætor.
68	821	16	Nero put to death on the 9th of June. He is succeeded by Galba, who intrusts to Agricola (aged

A.D.	A.U.C.	Age of Tacitus.	
			thirty-one) the investigation respecting the treasures of the temples.
69	822	17	Galba is put to death on the 15th of January, and is succeeded by Otho. Otho's partisans, at the plunder of Intemelium, kill Agricola's mother, in the beginning of April. Otho dies on the 16th of April, and is succeeded by Vitellius. Vespasian is proclaimed emperor in Egypt and Judæa. Agricola (aged thirty-two) joins Vespasian's party. Vitellius dies on the 21st of December. Mutiny of the soldiers in Britain against Trebellius Maximus, who is succeeded in the command by Vettius Bolanus, eighth consular legatus.
70	823	18	Agricola (aged thirty-three) is intrusted with the command of the twentieth legion in Britain. Jerusalem taken by Titus.
71	824	19	Vettius Bolanus is succeeded by Petilius Cerialis, the ninth consular legatus. Tacitus begins to speak in public.
73	826	21	Agricola (aged thirty-six) returns to Rome, and becomes a patrician.
74	827	22	Agricola (aged thirty-seven) commences his government of the province of Aquitania.
75	828	23	Cerialis succeeded by Julius Frontinus, the tenth consular legatus.
76	829	24	Frontinus subdues the Silures. Agricola (aged thirty-nine) recalled from Aquitania.
77	830	25	Agricola (aged forty) consul *suffectus* in July, August, and September. He betroths his daughter, who was at that time scarcely fourteen, to Tacitus, and gives her to him in marriage after his consulship.
78	831	26	Agricola (aged forty-one) succeeds Frontinus in the command of Britain. He conquers the Ordovices and subdues the island of Mona. Tacitus is appointed vigintivir and quæstor.
79	832	27	Vespasian dies on the 23d of June, and is succeeded by Titus. Agricola (aged forty-two) advances as far as the Solway Frith, and subdues almost the whole of England. Introduces civilization among the Britons.
80	833	28	Tacitus either ædile or tribune of the plebs. Agricola (aged forty-three) subdues the southern nations of Scotland as far as the Frith of Tay.
81	834	29	Titus dies on the 15th of September, and is succeeded by Domitian.
84	837	32	Agricola (aged forty-seven) defeats the Caledonians under Calgacus at the Grampian Hills. The Roman fleet sails round the north and west coasts of Britain. Expedition of Domitian against the Catti.
85	838	33	Agricola (aged forty-eight) is recalled from Britain, and is succeeded by Sallustius Lucullus.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Age of Tacitus.	
86	839	34	Appius Sabinus and the Roman army are defeated by the Dacians under Decebalus.
87	840	35	Several Roman armies are defeated in Mœsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia. The public voice calls for Agricola as general. Domitian sets out for Dacia, and remains in Mœsia.
88	841	36	Tacitus prætor. The *Ludi Sæculares* are performed.
89	842	37	Unsuccessful expedition of Domitian against the Marcomanni and Quadi. Civica put to death. The philosophers are banished from Rome by Domitian.
90	843	38	Agricola (aged fifty-three) declines the province of Asia. Tacitus retires with his wife from Rome.
91	844	39	Triumph of Domitian.
93	846	41	Death of Agricola on the 23d of August. Tacitus returns to Rome. Helvidius the younger, Arulenus Rusticus, and Herennius Senecio condemned to death.
94	847	42	Second banishment of the philosophers from Rome.
96	849	44	Domitian is put to death on the 18th of September, and is succeeded by Nerva.
97	850	45	Tacitus consul. He writes and publishes his Agricola in this year. Nerva adopts Trajan on the 19th of September.
98	851	46	Nerva dies on the 27th of January, and is succeeded by Trajan.
100	853	48	Tacitus, in conjunction with Pliny, accuses Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, of extortion in the administration of this province.
101 to 105	854 to 858	49 to 53	Trajan makes war against the Dacians and defeats them, and eventually reduces Dacia into the form of a Roman province.
			Tacitus appears to have lived till the time of Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan, A.D. 117; but he took no part in public affairs after his consulship.

NOTE. The preceding table is taken from the English edition, and differs, as will be perceived, from the Account of the Life and Writings of Tacitus, in relation to the birth-year and native place of the historian. In a matter of this kind, where no certainty can be arrived at, the variation becomes comparatively unimportant.

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C.E

"Reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt". (Ger.-VII)

REMARKS

ON THE

STYLE OF TACITUS.

"Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant". (Ger.-IX).

REMARKS

ON THE

STYLE OF TACITUS.

TRANSLATED* FROM THE LATIN OF WILHELM BOETTICHER.

Tacitus generally preserved in his language the usage of former writers, and chiefly of the historians; and only departed from it in such a degree as to improve and increase certain peculiarities which the ancient writers sometimes display in single instances, and in which they, too, have mostly followed the language of the poets. It is true, he adopted the usage of his age, and indulged his own peculiar genius in new constructions, and in the formation of compound words; but he never, in these instances, transgressed the laws of his native tongue: like a great legislator, who best provides for the common welfare by retaining, on the one hand, the customs of antiquity, while he also employs his own genius in inventing laws which are better and more suited to the demands of his age.

There are, indeed, many passages in his writings which are rendered obscure by a conciseness almost intricate and abrupt; many which, departing from the common mode of speech, call for much attention in the reader. But just as the milk-like exuberance of Livy and the wonderful clearness of Cicero delight the minds of their readers, and gratify them with a pleasure which is presented, as it were, spontaneously, and obtained by no great labor; so the brevity of Tacitus, obscure, indeed, but never unpleasing, never impenetrable to the edge of genius—while it calls forth all the reader's strength, and never suffers his mind to be inactive, but always engages him more and more in new efforts to imbibe deeply the loftiest and most beautiful sentiments—fills and pervades with a joy assuredly not inferior, nay, imperishable, the minds of those who come to the perusal of the works of Tacitus, not as to thickets bristling with thorns, but as to a consecrated grove, glimmering with a doubtful but holy light.

Now the laws which Tacitus has followed in the composition of his writings, and the sources from which chiefly all those things proceed which constitute the peculiarity of his style, may be most conveniently referred to *variety*, which we may also call *copiousness;* to *brevity*, on which the *force of language* depends; and to the *poetical complexion*

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*of his narrative.** This three-fold division, therefore, we shall carry out in such a manner as, by observing some certain order, to enumerate all the peculiarities of the style of Tacitus, either as examples of the variety, or of the brevity, or of the poetical complexion, by which his style is marked; but with this restriction, that many peculiarities can not be described in words and brought under rules; and we think it sufficient to have collected here examples of each kind, and thus to have pointed out to the students of Tacitus the road by which they may arrive at a fuller knowledge of that writer.

ON THE VARIETY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

Of all writers, Tacitus has taken most pains to vary both single words and the composition of sentences. In this quality he was preceded chiefly by Livy and Sallust. And the care of Livy, in this respect, indicates copiousness and exuberance; but that of Sallust an affectation of antiquity. The reason of this peculiarity Tacitus himself plainly enough declares. For he says that "his labor was in a restricted space, and inglorious;" that "the positions of nations, the *vicissitudes* of battles, the triumphant deaths of generals, interest and refresh the minds of readers; but he had to *string together* cruel mandates, *perpetual* accusations, treacherous friendships, the ruin of innocent men, and causes which had the *same* issue, things strikingly *similar even to satiety*."†

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that, in collecting the memorials of past events, he should have taken pains to acquire that variety which presented itself spontaneously to the writers of the old republic, in order to avoid burdening and wearying the minds of his readers by expressing in the same words events perpetually recurring. As to the fact that for this very end he used certain ancient forms and words, and interspersed them in his narrative, we know that though he retained as much of all ancient things as was proper and becoming, yet he did not despise the more polished style of his own age.‡

* But it must be observed that, in many passages, all these qualities are united; so that in his very brevity there appear at the same time variety and a poetical complexion.

† Annals, iv., 32, 33: "Nobis in arto et inglorius labor." "Situs gentium, *varietates* prœliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos sæva jussa, *continuas* accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium, et *easdem exitu causas* conjungimus, obvia *rerum similitudine et satietate*."

‡ See the Dialogus de Oratoribus, c. 22: "Variet compositionem; nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet." And c. 18: "Non esse unum eloquentiæ vultum," &c.

The following are examples of his variety:

I. His modes of writing words are various.

a. *Inrumpere* and *irrumpere*, *adstitit* and *astitit*, *adlicere* and *allicere*, *adpellere* and *appellere*; *colloqui*, *colligere*, and *conloqui*, *conlectus*; *offundere* and *obfundere*; *accelerare*, *accolere*, *accursus*, and *adcelerare*, *adcolere*, *adcursus*.

b. *Cotidie* and *quotidie*; *promiscus*, *promisce*, and *promiscuus*, *promiscue*; *abisse* and *abiisse*, *epistula* and *epistola*; *volgus*, *volnus*, *voltus*, *convolsus*, *revolsus*, *mavoltis*, and *vulgus*, *vulnus*, &c.; and also, in some places, *sævom*, *pravom*, *alvom*, *captivom*, *donativom avonculo*, for the common *sævum*, *pravum*, &c.; *tegumen*, *tegimen*, and *tegmen*; *balneæ* (*balnea*) and *balineæ*; *claudere* and *cludere*; *inclutus* and *inclitus*; *quotiens*, *totiens*, *viciens*, *septuagiens*, and *quoties*, *toties*, &c.; *transmittere*, *transnatare*, and *tramittere*, *tranatare*; *vinculum* and *vinclum*; *Hercule* and *Hercle*; *libido*, and once *lubido*; *altissumus*, *optumus*, *optumates*, *proxumus* (these examples are found each only once in Tacitus), and *altissimus*, &c.; *monimentum* and *monumentum*; *decumus* and *decimus*, &c.; *urgere* and *urguere*, *intellegere* and *intelligere*, *oreretur* and *oriretur*, *poteretur* and *potiretur*, *detractare* and *detrectare*.

II. Words are variously inflected.

a. *Tigranen*, *Tigranem*, *Lirin*, *Turesim*; the accusative plural ending in *īs* of participles and adjectives chiefly, less frequently of substantives, is interchanged with the common form; as, *imminentis*, *omnis*, *tris*, *navis*; the genitive which ends in *um* with the common termination in *orum*; *deum* (very rarely *deorum*), *liberum*, *posterum* (*Annal.*, iii., 72), *quindecimvirum* (*Annal.*, vi., 12); *parentum* and *parentium*. By a poetical usage received from the writers of the Silver Age, we read in *Annal.*, iv., 41, *salutantum* for *salutantium*, and several examples of the same kind occur repeatedly. *Cai*, *Cnei*, *Cæselli*, *Patulei*, *Rubelli*, *Pacari*, but *Tiberii*, *Pompeii*, &c.; *di*, *dis*, *dii*, *diis*, and *deis*; *quibus*, and not less frequently *quîs*. The dative ending in *u* is very frequent in Tacitus, as well as the common termination; as, *luxu*, *nuru*, *metu*, *decursu*, *cruciatu*. Cæsar, who uses that form more frequently, generally gives nothing else but *magistratu*, *equitatu*, *exercitu*.

b. Heteroclite and defective words: *plebes*, *plebei* (gen. and dat.), and *plebs*, *plebis*, *plebi* (so in Cicero, Livy, and other former writers); *juventa*, *senecta*, (*senium*), poetical words, and *juventus*, *senectus* (after Livy's example); but *juventus* in Tacitus always means *youths*, *juventa* no less constantly *the age of youth*; nouns are both of the first and fifth declension in the nominative (as is usual), in the accusative,

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and in the ablative cases: *materia* and *materies, mollitia* and *mollities, duritia* and *durities* (so, also, in Cicero), with an obsolete genitive, *Annal.*, iii., 34, *multa duritie veterum in melius et lætius mutata*, unless it is better to take *duritie* for the ablative, with *ex* understood. *Oblivio* and (*Hist.*, iv., 9) *oblivium* (the plural *oblivia* occurs frequently in the poets), *obsidio* and *obsidium* (so Varro, Plautus, Sallust), which in Tacitus, indeed, is the same as *obses, Annal.*, xi., 10, *Meherdaten—obsidio nobis datum.* So he uses *consortium* for the common *consortio* (as *Liv.*, iv., 5); *alimonium, Annal.*, xi., 16, after Varro's example; but Plautus, Suetonius, Gellius, Apuleius, use *alimonia, æ. Eventus* and (what is not an uncommon word with Cicero) *eventum, Annal.*, iv, 33, *plures aliorum eventis docentur; prætextu* and (*Hist.*, ii., 100; iii., 80; as in Seneca and Suetonius) *prætexto; Vologeses*, genitive *Vologesis* and *Vologesi*, dative *Vologeso*, accusative *Vologesen*, ablative *Vologese.* Add to these *decus* and *decor* (as in the writers of the same age); *sonos* and (the poetical form) *sonor; honos* and *honor; satietas* and (Sallust) *satias; sexus* and (Sallust, Livy) *secus; munera* and *munia* (and this frequently); *muri* and *mœnia* (compare *Hist.*, iii., 30, near the end); *gratia* and *grates; exanimus, exanimis; semermus, semermis; inermus, inermis; claritudo, claritas; firmitudo, firmitas.*

c. Heterogeneous words: *loci* and *loca*, where they refer to a country, are used indifferently by Tacitus; other writers, less frequently, use *loci.* In *Annal.*, xv., 32, *loci* are the seats in a theatre; on the other hand, Livy and Vellius call them *loca.* Arguments, which are treated of in a debate or speech, and also passages or sentences of speeches or books, are called by all writers, and Tacitus likewise, *loci.* Some names of cities ending in *a* are both feminine and neuter; *Artaxata, Hierosolyma*, and others.

III. The following examples will prove how great is the variety and copiousness of Tacitus IN THE ACTUAL USE OF WORDS.

a. The word *auris* is used by no writer so often and so variously; for he gives *aures præbere, adire, perstringere, advertere, imbuere, vitare, polluere, obstruere, verberare, offendere; ad aures conferre, pervenire; auribus obtemperare, auribus non satis competere, aures respuunt, agnoscunt aliquid; diversitas, fastidium aurium; oratio auribus judicum accommodata; diversissimarum aurium copia; cognitæ populi aures; aures adrectiores, trepidæ, lentæ, promtæ, pronæ, superbæ, æquæ, apertæ, ita formatæ.* Two reasons may be given why Tacitus so often used this word: first, because he was an orator, on which account most examples of it are furnished by his Dialogue concerning Orators; and, therefore, Cicero, also, and Quintilian often use this word,

secondly, because, in describing times which, to use his own words, had destroyed by prosecutions the intercourse of speaking and hearing, and recalled the recollection of the well-known ear* of the tyrant Dionysius, he was able, by the use of this mode of speech, to express with the greatest propriety and effect many things which belonged to the wicked arts of tyranny and slavery.

b. There is generally a variety of the same kind in describing hidden and secret things. Thus to *palam* are opposed *secreto, intus, domi, per occultum, per occulta, in occulto, privatim, furtim, secretis criminationibus, occultis nuntiis, inter secreta convivii, voto; Annal.*, xvi., 7, *mortem Poppææ ut palam tristem, ita recordantibus lætam; Hist.*, i., 10, *palam laudares; secreta male audiebant; propalam—secretis nuntiis, secretis promissis.*

c. Since Tacitus had to mention frequent deaths, he has in these, also, used very great variety: *relinquendæ vitæ certus; finis sponte sumtus, quæsita mors; suo ictu mortem invenire, finem vitæ sibi ponere, sumere exitium, voluntario exitu cadere, sua manu cadere, mortem sponte sumere, se vita privare, se ipsum interficere* (and *interfectus* also is used in a rather unusual way of voluntary death in *Annal.*, i., 2, *interfecto Antonio:* compare *Hist.*, i., 53, *occiso Nerone*), *voluntate exstingui, vim vitæ suæ adferre, vitam abstinentia finire, egestate cibi perimi, venenum haurire, gladio incumbere, senili manu ferrum tentare; venas, brachia exsolvere, resolvere, abrumpere, interscindere, abscindere, interrumpere, incidere, aperire rursum; levem ictum venis inferre; defungi, exstingui, obire, concedere, oppetere, finire, fato fungi, fato obire, fato concedere, morte fato propera auferri, mortem obire, mortalitatem explere, finem vitæ implere, supremum diem explere, concedere vita, cedere vita, vitam finire; mors (mortes), obitus, excessus, finis; Dial.*, 18, *fatalis et meus dies.*

d. *Propinqua vespera, flexo in vesperam die, vesperascente die, inumbrante vespera, præcipiti in occasum die, extremo die, sero diei, obscuro diei.*

e. Those phrases, also, are changed which it is the usual custom not to alter; as, *aqua et igni interdicere* (*Annal.*, iii., 38; iv., 21), *aqua et igni arceri* (*Annal.*, iii., 50), *aqua atque igni prohiberi* (*Annal.*, xvi., 12).

f. Particles are varied more frequently than in other writers: *haud* and *non, haudquaquam, nequaquam; dein, deinde; exin, exinde; proin, proinde; modo—modo* and *interim—quandoque, modo—nunc, modo—ecce nunc; erga*, and, with the same signification, *contra, adversus, in; penes* and *ad, in, apud; juxta* and *ad, apud.* They serve for a transi-

* A combination of passages, by which Dionysius is said to have been able to overhear the words of his captives as he sat in his palace.

tion: *his atque* (*ac*, *et*) *talibus, his et pluribus, ceterum, dehinc, hinc, ad hoc, ad hæc* (besides) *ac, et, inter quæ, interea, per idem tempus, sub idem tempus, interim, simul, proinde, exinde, deinde, igitur* (seldom *itaque*) *ergo, at, at Hercule* (*Hercle*).

IV. Tacitus is also remarkable for great copiousness and variety of words; because, besides the words received in common use, he likewise frequently uses such as are found only in single passages in the writers of the former age; because, too, he adopted those words with which the poets of every age, and the writers of his own time, enriched the Latin tongue; and, lastly, because he himself discovered and composed many new words; as, *centurionatus, exstimulator, instigatrix, inturbidus, quinquiplicare, præposse, provivere, pervigere, superstagnare, superurgere.* And he followed the same plan IN THE MEANINGS OF WORDS, not only combining the different senses which they had at different times, but also referring them, according to his own taste, to other things which bore some degree of affinity to the things which other writers had used those words to express. Of this I will give the following examples:

a. As in Cicero we read *adducere habenas*, in Seneca *adducere vultum ad tristitiam*, in Quintilian *adducta frons;* so in Tacitus, with a slight change in the meaning of the word, *Annal.*, xii., 7, *adductum* (i. e., *severum, rigidum*) *et quasi virile servitium;* xiv., 4, *familiaritate juvenili—et rursus adductus;* and Tacitus alone appears thus to have used the adverb, *adductius* (*regnari, imperitare*), in *Germ.*, 34, and *Hist.*, iii., 7.

b. *Expedire*, 1. As in its common use, is the same as *præparare, parare*, as *arma, alimenta, iter, concilium; Annal.*, xiv., 55, *qui me non tantum prævisa, sed subita expedire docuisti*, concerning facility of speech. 2. Then in the same sense as *exponere:* examples of this meaning are furnished by Terence, Virgil, and other poets; *Annal.*, iv., 1, *nunc originem, mores—expediam*, and so frequently. 3. Tacitus alone appears to have used it absolutely for *expeditionem suscipere; Hist.*, i., 10, *nimiæ voluptates cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat magnæ virtutes;* chap. lxxxviii., *multos—secum expedire jubet;* but exactly in the same way, *ducere* is used for *ducere exercitum*, not only by Tacitus, but much oftener by Livy.

c. *Externus*, besides its common use, in which it simply applies to foreign nations; as, *Annal.*, xi., 16, *ire externum ad imperium*, is also in Tacitus synonymous with *hostilis; Hist.*, iv., 32, *ut absisteret bello, neve externa armis falsis velaret;* iii., 5, *ne inter discordias* (Romanorum) *externa molirentur.* In the same manner *diversus* is used by Tacitus of things relating to enemies and opposing parties; as, *Annal.*,

xiv., 30, *stabat pro littore diversa* (the hostile) *acies; Hist.*, iii., 5, *ne majore ex diverso mercede* (received from their adversaries) *jus fasque exuerent;* and *diversus* is generally synonymous with *alienus, abhorrens ab aliqua re: Annal.*, ii., 2, *diversus a majorum institutis;* vi., 33, *diversa induere* (espouse different sides; but thus Livy, also, speaks of *diversi auctores.*

V. In the grammatical construction of words the very great variety of the style of Tacitus is discovered.

a. The singular and plural numbers are interchanged: *miles, eques* (used, also, of those who are of equestrian rank), *veteranus, legionarius*, and *milites, equites*, &c., and more often, indeed, than in former writers: *Annal.*, vi., 35, *cum Parthus—distraheret turmas, Sarmatæ—contis gladiisque ruerent; Hist.*, iii., 59, *Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi.* The plural, used for the sake of majesty, is often joined with the singular: *Annal.*, iv., 11, *ut peterem ab iis, quorum in manus cura* nostra *venerit*, &c., Agr., 43, *nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim.*

b. Different cases are joined together: *Annal.*, xii., 29, *legionem—pro ripa componeret, subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores; Hist.*, i., 53, *corpore ingens, animi immodicus; Annal.*, xv., 59, *nomen mulieris Arria Galla, priori marito Domitius Silus:* and the same cases with different significations: *Germ.*, 35, *occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira; Hist.*, ii., 22, *molares ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt.*

c. The dative, accusative, genitive, and prepositions are used in the same kind of construction: *promptus rei, in rem, ad rem; inrumpere terram, in terram, ad terram; Annal.*, xiv., 38, *cujus adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam rei publicæ referebat*, unless you prefer taking this as a zeugma; xii., 55, *vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque in mercatores—audebant; Annal.*, iv., 1, *sui obtegens, in alios criminator;* xiii., 21, *ultionem in delatores et præmia amicis obtinuit.* (See below, on the Brevity of the Style of Tacitus, iii., 1.)

d. There is the greatest variety in the mode of comparison. 1. The usual construction *quo—tanto, quanto—tanto, scite magis quam probe, avidius quam consultius.* 2. The positive, or other words which have its force, is used for the comparative in almost the same manner as we read in *Agr.*, 4, *vehementius quam caute: Annal.*, i., 68, *quanto inopina, tanto majora offunduntur;* c. 74, *quantoque incautius efferverat, pœnitentia patiens tulit* (compare *Livy*, i., 25, *Romani—Horatium accipiunt eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat*); iv., 67, *quanto intentus olim—tanto resolutus.* Compare *Livy*, xxi., 48, *quantum elatus—tantum anxius.* 3. *Tanto* is transposed; *Annal.*, i., 81, *speciosa verbis—quantoque majore libertatis*

imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium. 4. *Tanto* or *eo* is omitted: *Annal.*, ii., 5, *quanto acriora—studia militum et aversa* (see No. 2) *patrui voluntas, celerandæ victoriæ intentior; Hist.*, iii., 58, *quanto quis clarior, minus fidus.* Compare *Livy*, xxv., 38, *quo audacius erat* (*consilium*) *magis placebat.* 5. *Plura* is omitted: *Annal.*, iii., 5, *tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset.* 6. *Eodem actu* is put for *tanto; Hist.*, i., 12, *qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisior erat.* 7. *Quam* is used alone, meaning *more than, magis* or *potius* being omitted: *Hist.*, iii., 60, *prædæ quam periculorum socius; Annal.*, iv., 61, *claris majoribus quam vetustis.* Compare *Livy*, vii., 8, *multiplex quam pro numero damnum est.* 8. Also the more uncommon construction, *Annal.*, iii., 8, *quem haud fratris interitu trucem, quam—æquiorem sibi sperabat,* put for *non tam—quam,* or *tantum abest ut—ut.*

e. Adjectives and genitive cases are mixed together: *Annal.*, ii., 3, *Armenia—inter Parthorum et Romanas opes infida:* xii., 14, *ex quis Izates Adiabeno, mox Acbarus Arabum cum exercitu abscedunt.*

f. Verbs are variously and, indeed, rather uncommonly constructed: *fungi officiis* and *officia, potiri flagitii, honoribus, regiam* (by archaism), *adipisci aliquid* and *rerum, dominationis* (so in Tacitus alone); *præsidere alicui rei* and (what there seems to be no example of in other writers) *Medos, Pannoniam: jubere alicui tributum; Germanos—non juberi, non regi; Annal.*, xi., 32, *jussit ut Britannicus et Octavia—pergerent;* xiii., 15, *Britannico jussit exsurgeret;* chap. 40, *quibus jusserat ut—resisterent.* Compare *Terence, Andria*, ii., 5, 1, *me jussit—observarem;* Cicero also, Livy, and others sometimes join this verb with the dative. So with many verbs is joined the infinitive and *ut, ne, quod;* also, the preposition *ad* and the particle *ut* are interchanged; *e. g., Annal.*, ii., 62, *haud leve decus Drusus quæsivit illiciens Germanos ad discordias, utque fracto jam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur.* The historical present and perfect are joined together: *Annal.*, ii., 7, *Cæsar—jubet; ipse—sex legiones eo duxit;* c. 20. *Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit ut,* &c.; i., 39, *perduci ad se Plancum imperat, recepitque in tribunal.*—"There are those who ascribe such things to negligence in the author. But he seems to me to have thus adjusted them designedly, like a skillful workman, so as to distinguish wisely and with a polished taste what words should flow with a more animated, and what with a more tranquil course."—(*Walther on the Annals*, ii., 7.) In the same way he places together the historical present, the historical infinitive, and the perfect: *Annal.*, iii., 20, *Eodem anno Tacfarinas—bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum populationibus—dein vicos exscindere, trahere graves prædas, postremo—cohortem*

Romanam circumsedit; xii., 51, *conjux gravida—toleravit; post—ubi quati uterus et viscera vibrantur, orare ut,* &c.; xv., 27, *simul consilio terrorem adjicere, et Megistanas Armenios—pellit sedibus,* &c.

g. There is great variety in the syntax of particles: *Annal.*, i., 2, *per acies aut proscriptione cadere;* ii., 70, *ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta; Annal.*, xi., 32, *ut quis reperiebatur in publico aut per latebras;* iv., 51, *nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna.—Germ.*, 20, *sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui ad patrem honor; Annal.*, vi., 22, *tristia in bonos, læta apud deteriores esse.*

VI. Constructions of different kinds are often mingled together; and after beginning with some one form of speech, he passes abruptly, and without regarding the law of uniformity, to another. Thus very often the passive and active voices are mixed up together: *Annal.*, vi., 44, *nihil omissum quo ambiguos illiceret, promti firmarentur;* iv., 44, *Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum.* Compare *Livy*, xxii., 6, *quæ Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.*—The accusative, the accusative with the infinitive, the finite tenses of the verb and particles, are mingled together: *Annal.*, xv., 50, *dum scelera principis et finem adesse imperio, deligendumque qui—succurreret inter se—jaciunt; Hist.*, iv., 4, *promsit sententiam ut honorificam in bonum principem, ita falsa aberant.* (Compare *Annal.*, iii., 30, *fato potentiæ—an satias capit.*) *Annal.*, iv., 38, *quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur.* Compare Sallust's Catiline, 10, *avaritia—superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit.*—The participle, gerund, finite tenses of the verb, and particles are placed together: *Annal.*, i., 62, *quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive—credebat;* iii., 31, *absentiam—meditans, sive ut—impleret;* xiii., 11, *orationibus, quas Seneca testificando quam honesta præciperet vel jactandi ingenii—vulgabat;* c. 47, *socors ingenium ejus in contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem interpretando.* He passes from what is called the oblique narration to the direct (as *Livy*, i., 13, 47 57): *Annal.*, iv., 40, *ad ea Tiberius—principum diversam esse sortem, falleris enim Sejane,* &c.; *Hist.*, iii., 2, *ad ea Antonius Primus—festinationem ipsis utilem. "Duæ tunc Pannonicæ ac Mæsicæ alæ perrupere hostem,"* &c. See, also, the heads Syllepsis and Zeugma, in the remarks on the Brevity of his Style, V.

VII. In the position of words, Tacitus indulges in variety above other writers, following chiefly the practice of his own age, and he

even sometimes inverts those phrases which other writers are wont to preserve constantly in a certain order; as, *Annal.*, xi., 35, *consulto senatus*. (See above, III., e.)

a. Cognomens, or agnomens, are even PLACED BEFORE names; and in the same way, a term signifying the dignity and office with which any one is endowed, is expressed before the name itself, as *Agrippa Postumus* and *Postumus Agrippa, M. Annæus Lucanus* and *Lucanus Annæus, Asinius Pollio* and *Pollio Asinius* (thus Cicero, also, has *Pollio Asinius*), *Antonius Primus* and *Primus Antonius; dictator Cæsar* and *Cæsar dictator* (as in Cicero, *rex Deiotarus;* in Livy, *rex Prusias*); *imperator Augustus, Augustus imperator;* but when this dignity was perpetual, from the age of Julius Cæsar downward, the title of *imperator* (as before, in general, that of *dictator*) used to be placed before the proper name. Compare *Suetonius* (*Cæs.*, 76), *honores nimios recepit—prænomen imperatoris.* So, besides the common arrangement, *prætor Antistius, procurator Marius, augur Lentulus* (as in Livy we have *consul Æmilius, consul Sulpicius*). Add to these, *tribunus plebis,* and *plebei,* and *plebis* (*plebei*) *tribunus.*

b. Together with the common order of the particles we find an ANASTROPHE of the prepositions and conjunctions after the manner of the poets, which is admitted also, though less often, by other writers, chiefly of the Silver Age: *Amisiam et Lupiam amnes* INTER, *disjectas inter et vix pervias arenas, sedes inter Vestalium: præturam* INTRA *stetit, unum* INTRA *damnum;* and thus are used *super, extra, ultra, contra, penes, propter, juxta, apud, ad,* and *ab: Annal.*, v., 9, *vanescente* QUAMQUAM *plebis ira* (so Cicero); *Annal.*, i., 5, *acribus* NAMQUE *custodiis domum—sepserat* (so Livy very often); *Annal.*, ii., 15, *classem* QUIPPE (Cicero); *Hist.*, ii., 17, *inritabat* QUIN ETIAM (Capitolinus); *Dial.*, 6, *illis* QUIN IMMO (in other writers very rare, and every where having the first place); *Annal.*, xi., 30, *frueretur* IMMO *iis* (Plautus); *Germ.*, 30, *durant* SIQUIDEM *colles* (Pliny the elder).

c. With the remarks we have made above (VI.) on the mixture of constructions may be compared the Synchysis, which Quintilian calls *a mixture of words,* and of which Livy likewise furnishes not a few examples: *Annal.*, i., 10, *Pompeianarum gratiam partium;* xii., 65, *seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero potiretur;* xiv., 2, *tradit Cluvius ardore retinendæ Agrippinam potentiæ eo usque provectam, ut,* &c.; c. iv., *pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate juvenili Nero et rursus adductus—tracto in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem;* iii., 42, *inconditam multitudinem adhuc disjecit,* that is, *inconditam adhuc.* You may also refer Tmesis to this head: *Annal.*, xiii., 50, *acri etiam populi Romani tum libertate; Dial.*, 31, *neque enim dum arte et scientia,* &c., that is, *nondum enim; Hist.*, i., 20, *at illis vix decumæ super portiones erant.*

ON THE FORCE AND BREVITY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

All agree, without any hesitation, that the peculiar character of Tacitus's style is seen most in the concise brevity of his language; and those who have looked into it more closely, till they have even explored all the inmost recesses of his sometimes abrupt diction, prefer Tacitus to all other writers for this very reason, and admire the divine aspect of his genius, which, the nearer they approach it, and the more intently they hang upon its contemplation, so much the more deeply penetrates the minds of the beholders. But if you ask whence proceeds and what means that taciturn brevity, and wherefore it is that you are sometimes moved by it in the inmost corner of your heart, seek the answer from actual life, both that of Tacitus and your own. Many were then (as now they are, if we would honestly confess it) the faults, the vices, the crimes of men, with but rare examples of substantial, well-tried virtue; great were envy and the ignorance of right; many were the mockeries that were made of the affairs of men, and the empty dissensions of the populace; while but very few then, as in our own time even by no means all, were seeking better and higher things. And as it by no means becomes us, who are blessed with the hopes and consolations of the Christian faith, to mourn over those things which are faulty in our own age with the same grief as that with which we behold a Roman, who accounted nothing to be loftier and grander than the hereditary glory and majesty of his country, mourning over the common corruption of all things, and over the republic falling headlong to ruin; so we surely can not blame in Tacitus that kind of bitter pleasure, and that indignant sparing of words, by which, that he might not, like Suetonius, impose too heavy a burden on his own and his readers' sense of shame by narrating every thing at length with a disgusting loquacity, he has generally conveyed a deeper meaning than his words express.*

I. And, first, in the very COLLOCATION OF HIS WORDS there is a certain force and brevity: *non* is sometimes separated from its verb and placed first, to increase the force of the sentence; as, *Annal.*, vi., 32,

* The most important passage for discovering the feelings from which this peculiarity of the style of Tacitus proceeded is that in the Germania (33), where, with as deep emotion as he has ever shown, he says, *maneat quæso duretque gentibus*, &c. Compare, also, *Annal.*, iii., 55, at the end, and *Agr.*, 2, 3: *dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum—ademto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio*, &c.—*prope ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos per silentium venimus.*

sed non Tiberius omisit incepta; chap. xxxviii., *non enim Tiberium, quamquam triennio post cædem Sejani—tempus, preces, satias mitigabant; Hist.*, ii., 70, *at non Vitellius flexit oculos.* Frequently a word is placed first, to imply tacitly the converse of what is stated; as, *Annal.*, iii., 2, *miserat duas prætorias cohortes Cæsar*, but did not come himself. Not unfrequently some particle is implied in the word which is put first; as, *Annal.*, ii., 39, *vivere* (adhuc) *Agrippam;* chap. xl., *postremo dat negotium Sallustio* (tandem certus consilii).

II. The force of the language depends often on SINGLE WORDS.

a. On FREQUENTATIVES, which are repeatedly used by Tacitus (and Sallust): some, indeed, he alone employs, as *infensare, redemtare;* in contemporary authors, also, and the writers of a later age, we find *appellitare, adsultare, auctitare, despectare, suspectare* (*i. e.*, suspectum habere), *emtitare, mansitare, prætentare.* But it must be well observed, that it is not always the force of the language which depends on these words; but that they also often express an attempt, and that a vain one (as *loqui cæptare*), and in this way, also, assist the brevity of the style.

b. On single words put ABSOLUTELY: *Hist.*, iii., 55, *Latium* (*i. e.*, jus Latii) *externis dilargiri; Annal.*, ii., 32, *saxo* (Tarpeio) *dejectus est* (compare iv., 29, *robur et saxum aut paricidarum pœnas minitari*). *Agr.*, 22, *nec—unquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit*, that is, through greediness of praise and glory. *Hist.*, v., 1, *occupare principem adhuc vacuum*, that is, not yet engaged by another, whose favor does not yet incline to any one; so we have *mulier vacua, Annal.*, xiii., 44, *vacuus adulter*, xi., 12. *Hist.*, i., 76, *ne Aquitania quidem—diu mansit*, that is, continued faithful. *Annal.*, ii., 33, *excessit Fronto* (that is, went beyond, or digressed from, the subject before the senate), *et postulavit*, &c. (Compare *Quintil.*, iii., 9, 4, *egressio, vel, quod usitatius esse cœpit, excessus.*) *Dial.*, 21, *videtur mihi inter Menenios—studuisse*, after the manner of the Silver Age, in which *studere* is used absolutely for the study of the art of rhetoric.

c. On the MEANING of the words themselves: as examples of which we may adduce *rimari, introspicere, dispicere, gliscere* (*adolescere, crescere, augeri*, and *augere* with a passive signification), *sævus, atrox, ferox, trux, truculentus, grandis, ingens, enormis*, all which words he uses oftener than other writers.

III. BY AN UNUSUAL MODE OF USING NUMBER, CASES, ADJECTIVES, MOODS, AND PARTICLES, the language is rendered more effective and concise.

a. THE PLURAL, chiefly of those nouns which are called abstract,

expresses various kinds and modes of action: *Annal.*, i., 74, *formam vitæ iniit, quam postea celebrem miseriæ temporum et audaciæ hominum fecerunt;* xiv., 4, *ferendas parentium iracundias; Germ.*, 2, *ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos.*

b. There is a peculiar force and brevity in the use of the GENITIVE (concerning the NOMINATIVE put absolutely, see below, under ELLIPSIS, b. *a. dolor, ira*): *Annal.*, xv., 36, *non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in republica perinde immota ac prospera fore* (*sui* refers to Nero, whose great idea of his own importance is plain from all accounts); xi., 24, *conditor nostri Romulus;* ii., 54, *nostri origo* (a Roman is speaking). The genitive plural expresses custom: *Annal.*, ii., 1, *Phraates—cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat* (which are wont to be offered by those who reverence their prince); vi., 40, *supplicia civium effugit* (by which citizens are wont to be affected). To express the dispositions and peculiarities of men, the genitive is used more frequently than in other authors, and in a still more unusual way in the plural number: *Annal.*, iv., 31, *Tiberius compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum.* The partitive genitive is used more extensively than in other writers, and its use increases the force and perspicuity of the narrative; the same remark applies to the genitive joined with pronouns. *Annal.*, xii., 17, *navium quasdam circumvenere barbari præfecto cohortis et plerisque centurionum interfectis;* chap. xviii., *Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis aderat, ut,* &c. So we find *id temporis, solitudinis, honoris, Hist.*, iv., 23, *neque unquam id malorum—ut,* &c. *Ingens rerum, præcipuus circumveniendi, primus luendæ pœnæ.* (See below, where Græcisms are treated of.) The genitive, which is called objective, is joined with the subjective: *Hist.*, iii., 10, *ut proditionis ira militum; Annal.*, xii., 26, *Britannici fortunæ mæror* (Cicero *canum adulatio dominorum*). To this class belongs that very difficult passage, *Annal.*, xv., 61, *itur etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium;* by those who reverenced the prince on account of his wife's restoration; compare xi., 23, *et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur adseverantium, non adeo ægram Italiam, ut,* &c. Compare, ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS, III., a. The genitive of the passive participle in *endus*, joined with the same case of the substantive (or of the gerund with the case which belongs to the verb), the word *causa* being omitted, is used by no writer oftener than by Tacitus, in his strong desire of brevity, to express the end which any one pursues: *Annal.*, ii., 59, *Ægyptum proficiscitur cognoscendæ antiquitatis;* iv., 2, *neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi.* Of the same kind are genitives joined with substantives: *Hist.*, iii., 40,

agendi tempora consultando consumsit; chap. l., *Silvanum socordem bello et dies rerum verbis terentem; Annal.*, i., 58, *non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiæ* (sc. ostentandæ) *dies.*

c. Very similar is the use of the DATIVE, which Tacitus has employed more frequently than any other writer, and in a more varied manner, to express an end and advantage, and that, too, in such a way that in this mode of speaking, also, he has respect to brevity: as it is commonly said, *triumvir reipublicæ constituendæ, dividendis agris, comitia regi creando,* so *Annal.*, vi., 37, *cum ille equum placando amni adornasset;* chap. xliii., *ubi data fides reddendæ dominationi venisse, adlevatur animum; Hist.*, iii., 20, *num—cetera expugnandis urbibus* (utilia) *attulissent; Annal.*, xiv., 3, *additurum—defunctæ templum et aras et cetera ostentandæ pietati* (compare *Livy*, xxx., 6, *quæ restinguendo igni forent portantes*); *Annal.*, ii., 57, *amici accendendis offensionibus callidi; Annal.*, xiv., 59, *repertus est—nudus exercitando corpori. Annal.*, xii., 46, *diem locumque fœderi accepit;* i., 51, *incessit itineri et prœlio.* To the same class belong *obtentui, ostentui, inrisui, derisui, usui, metui, despectui, potui, victui, vestitui, indutui, visui, venatui esse,* which are for the most part rare in other writers. For the rest, see below, where Græcisms are treated of.

d. The ACCUSATIVE is often joined with verbs which express motion without a preposition, after the manner of the Greeks and of the poets; as *ripam accedere* (Cicero), *oppidum inrumpere* (Cæsar, Sallust), *incursare Germaniam* (Livy), *involare castra* (Cicero, *rostra advolare*), *advolvi genua* (Sallust), *incidere locum, incidere aliquem* (in aliquem), *adventare propinqua Seleuciæ, Annal.*, vi., 44; *propinquare campos* (Sallust), *eniti aggerem* (Livy), *escendere suggestum* (Cicero, Livy, and others), *evadere angustias* (Livy), *elabi pugnam, egredi tentoria* (Sallust), *exire lubricum juventæ.* This remark applies to the following passages, which depart from common usage: *Hist.*, iv., 76, *Germanos—non juberi, non regi;* i., 16, *gentibus, quæ regnantur* (Pliny the elder); *Annal.*, iii, 39, *is proximum exercitum præsidebat; Germ.*, 43, *vertices montium—insederunt; Annal.*, xi., 20, *insignia triumphi indulgere, i. e.,* concedere; as if it were to indulge any one with them, and so to yield them (Juvenal, *se indulgere, i. e.,* permittere *alicui*); similarly Tacitus uses *propugnare, potiri, fungi, vesci, disserere, fremere aliquam rem;* but he likewise, that thus he might add force to the narrative, has sometimes used prepositions where the common language employs the accusative: *Hist.*, iv., 48, *ea de cæde quam verissime expediam; Germ.*, 34, *reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.* Concerning the ABLATIVE of substantives put absolutely, see below, where the participle is treated of.

e. Brevity is promoted by ADJECTIVES which, when joined to sub-

stantives, have the force of genitives, or of other constructions, chiefly in expressing those things which belong to lands, cities, or men: *Annal.*, iii., 43, *Trevericus tumultus*; iv., 20, *provincialia uxorum crimina*; xv., 23, *Actiaca religio*; iv., 3, *municipalis adulter*; *Hist.*, iv., 15, *Caianæ* (Caii imperatoris) *expeditiones*; *Annal.*, i., 6, *novercalia odia*; chap. vii., *uxorius ambitus*; *senilis adoptio*; 33, *muliebres offensiones*; iv., 2, *senatorius ambitus*, objectively, as chap. lxii., *municipalis ambitio*; xii., 51, *metus hostilis*; ii., 44, *vacui externo metu*; *Dial.*, 29, *histrionalis favor*. No one has oftener used this manner of speaking; but many similar examples are also found in the older writers, as in *Cicero, pro Lege Manilia*, xii., *Ostiense incommodum*; *Cæs.*, *B. C.*, ii., 32, *Corfiniensis ignominia*; *Cic. Fam.*, ii., 17, *metus Parthicus*, objectively.

f. The INFINITIVE is very frequently used by Tacitus for the sake of this same brevity and force. The infinitive, which is called historical, is used oftener than by other writers (as Livy and Sallust; see, ON THE VARIETY, &c., V., f.); and it is joined also with particles, and not only with demonstrative particles, as is the custom of other writers, but even with copulatives: *Hist.*, iii., 10, *ubi crudescere seditio et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant injici catenas Flaviano jubet*. *Annal.*, xi., 34, *jam erat in adspectu Messallina—cum obstrepere accusator*, &c. Sometimes it includes in itself *velle* and *posse*, or *solere*: *Hist.*, v., 15, *Civilis instare fortunæ, Cerialis abolere* (sc. volebat) *ignominiam*; *Germ.*, 7, *in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium* (sc. possunt). Compare the similar use of the indicative, subjunctive, and participle below (h. i.). By no writer is the infinitive oftener joined with verbs, which are commonly constructed with the particles *ut*, *ne*, *quominus*, *quod*, or in some other manner. Thus we find used in the older writers also, but less frequently, *hortari*, *impellere*, *præcipere*, *permittere*, *postulare*, *imperare*, *monere*, *maturare*, *prohibere*, *instare*, *erubescere*, *consentire*, *destinare*, *pergere*, as *Annal.*, xi., 4 (Livy, and others), *pergitque—addere reos equites Romanorum*; chap. xxxiv., *instabat—Narcissus aperire ambages*. A similar use of the following words is adopted by the poets: *suadere*, *incumbere*, *mandare*, *orare*, *urgere*, *ambiri*, *accingi*, *arcere*, *persistere*, *dare*, *adigere*, *deesse*; as *Hist.*, iii., 58, *nec deerat ipse voltu, voce, lacrimis misericordiam elicere* (but the common construction is, *Annal.*, xiv., 39, *nec defuit Polyclitus quominus—incederet*). Tacitus alone appears thus to have used *percellere*, *perpellere*, *æmulari*, *censere*, *nuntiare*, *denuntiare*, *scribere* (*i. e.*, nuntio, scripto imperare), *impetrare*, *inlicere*, *inducere* (*i. e.*, permovere), *componere*, *pangere*, *obsistere* (*Germ.*, 34, *obstitit Oceanus* (τῷ) *in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri*), *inlacrimare* (*Annal.*, ii., 71), *inlacri-*

mabunt (τῷ) *quondam florentem—muliebri fraude cecidisse.* See, ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c., III., c., γ. To the verbs *deferre* and *incusare*, the infinitive is joined in the place of a genitive or of the particle *quod; Annal.*, ii., 27, *Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas;* iii., 38, *neque minus Rhæmetalcen—incusans popularium injurias inultas sinere* (compare below, ON GRÆCISMS). On the other hand, *quod* and *ut* are sometimes employed in a more unusual manner for the accusative with the infinitive: *creditum quod—voluisset; quibus jusserat ut—resisterent.* See above, d., near the end.

g. The INDICATIVE is often, even in the *obliqua oratio*, joined to the particle *dum;* as *Annal.*, ii., 81, *Piso oravit uti traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Cæsar cui Syriam permitteret consulitur.* Former writers have seldom spoken thus; and so, in general, the indicative is found more frequently in Tacitus than in other historical writers, when sentences are inserted in the *obliqua oratio* as if they proceeded from the mind of the writer himself; as, *Hist.*, iv., 16, *se cum cohorte, cui præerat—tumultum compressurum.* No one, moreover, has oftener used the indicative for the subjunctive, in that kind of sentences which indicate that that which is implied in the condition had almost happened, as we have it in Livy, who not unfrequently speaks thus: iii., 19, *nunc nisi Latini — arma sumsissent—deleti eramus,* we were lost. Generally *nisi*, more rarely *si*, joined with the pluperfect, and sometimes with the imperfect, begins the condition, and the idea which is limited by it oftener precedes than follows in the imperfect, the pluperfect, and sometimes the perfect: *Annal.*, xi., 10, *reciperare Armeniam avebat, ni a Vibio Marso—cohibitus foret;* i., 63, *trudebanturque in paludem—ni Cæsar—legiones instruxisset; Hist.*, i., 16, *si immensum imperii corpus stare—sine rectore posset, dignus eram, a quo res publica inciperet. Annal.*, xi., 37, *ni cædem ejus—properavisset, verterat pernicies in accusatorem* (thus Cicero, *præclare viceramus, nisi—Lepidus recepisset Antonium*). *Hist.*, i., 64, *prope in prælium exarsere, ni Valens—admonuisset* (thus *Livy*, ii., 10, *pons iter pæne hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset*). Instances conformed to the common usage of the language are less frequent in Tacitus.

To the same class belongs the ENALLAGE OF THE IMPERFECT FOR THE PLUPERFECT, which is also used by the older writers, as *Annal.*, xii., 37, *si statim deditus traderer* (traditus essem, fuissem), *neque mea fortuna, neque tua gloria inclaruisset.* Compare *Hist.*, i., 48, *Piso* (interfectus) *unum et tricesimum ætatis annum explebat.* In the USE OF TENSES in general there is great force. The historical present is very frequently used (take as an example of all the rest, *Annal.*, i. 21): following the writers of the former age, chiefly the poets, he

uses the perfect with the force of the Greek aorist, 1. To express custom: *Agr.*, 9, *haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit.* 2. In the place of the pluperfect; *Hist.*, i., 53, *hunc juvenem Galba—legioni præposuit; mox—ut peculatorem flagitari jussit* (præposuerat, jusserat olim). 3. The infinitive present for the infinitive future: *Annal.*, ii., 34, *Lucius Piso—abire se et cedere urbe—testabatur.* 4. The perfect for the infinitive future; iv., 28, *non enim se cædem principis—uno socio cogitasse* (he would not have thought of it), and Cicero furnishes a very similar example, *Phil.*, ii., 3.

h. The SUBJUNCTIVE has not unfrequently a pregnant sense, involving *posse, velle, opus esse* (compare the remarks on the historical infinitive and the participle). We find examples of the same thing in Cicero, Livy, and others: *Agr.*, 17, *cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset* (obrui potuisset), *sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus; Annal.*, i., 11, *Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret* (occulere vellet)—*obscura verba; Agr.*, 22, *ex iracundia nihil supererat; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres* (non erat causa cur timeres). To which the common phrase *tum cerneres, crederes*, approaches very nearly. There is a similar but less frequent use of the indicative: *Annal.*, iv., 40, *si dubitatione Augusti movemur* (nòs moveri fas est), *quanto validius est, quod,* &c.; ii., 34, *Lucius Piso—abire se et cedere urbe* (cessurum), *victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat, i. e.*, in eo erat ut relinqueret. Compare *Hist.*, i., 46, *militare otium redimebant.*

i. The PARTICIPLE does much to increase force of language and concise brevity of style, and its use is more varied in Tacitus than in other writers.

a. The perfect participle of deponent verbs is put indefinitively (ἀοριστῶς) for the present participle, as *ratus, veritus*, and others are even in the ordinary language; *Hist.*, ii., 96, *in hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit prætorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus;* and, also, as Livy had used it before, for the future passive participle, which has the force of a present participle: *Annal.*, xvi., 21, *Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit interfecto* (interficiendo) *Thrasca Pæto.* The present participle not unfrequently expresses an attempt (compare the remarks on the subjunctive and historical infinitive): *Hist.*, ii., 18, *retinenti duci tela intentare.* It is used for the infinitive: *Annal.*, xiii., 50, *sublatis portoriis sequens* (thus Cicero uses *consequens*, but with *esse* added) *ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur.* Likewise for a substantive: *Annal.*, iii., 40, *disserebant de—superbia præsidentium, i. e.*, præsidum. Compare *Sen., Clem.*, 19, *nihil magis decorum regenti quam clementia.* There is a similar brevity (βραχυλογία) in the use of the future participle active: *Annal.*, vi.,

3, *incusabatur facile toleraturus exsilium delecta Lesbo* (quod facile toleraturus esset): *Hist.*, ii., 74, *ceteræ—legiones secuturæ sperabantur* (sperabantur fore ut sequerentur). The perfect passive participle is used for the finite tenses of the verb: *Annal.*, vi., 32, *cupitum et Tiberio, i. e.*, cupiebat; and so it takes the place of a substantive (as in Plautus); *Annal.*, iv., 3, *nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant.* The neuter of the future passive participle is joined with the verb *habere*, after the manner of the Silver Age (like the perfect participle, *oratum te habeo*, and as we read in Cicero, *ædem tuendam habere*): *dicendum, respondendum, nubendum habere.*

β. Oftener, and still more boldly than other writers, he uses the perfect passive participle in the place of an abstract substantive, when it refers even to inanimate objects: *Annal.*, i., 8, *cum occisus dictator Cæsar—pulcherrimum facinus videretur; Annal.*, vi., 27, *genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat.* Compare *Livy*, xxvii., 37, *liberatas religione mentes turbavit rursus nuntiatum, Frusinone infantem natum esse quadrimo parem.*

γ. Adjectives ending in *ilis* are expressed by perfect passive participles; in the same way adjectives which indicate a certain ease and perpetuity are expressed by future active participles, and others, also, by future passive participles: *Agr.*, 18, *nihil arduum aut invictum credere* (so Sallust); *Annal.*, i., 28, *noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit;* iv., 38, *pulcherrimæ effigies et mansuræ* (lasting, enduring); *Dial.*, 22, *firmus sane paries et duraturus; Annal.*, ii., 38 (so Livy, the poets, and the writers of the Silver Age), *quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur* (fœdam, turpem; but it is easily perceived that the participle is more forcible); *Hist.*, iii., 84, *pudenda latebra semet occultans.*

δ. Ablatives which are called absolute are used in an unusual way, and generally elliptically; but examples of the same thing are not wanting in the older writers. The most uncommon case is that of the future active participle employed in this way: *Hist.*, ii., 32, *inrupturis tam infestis nationibus.* Very often the participle of the substantive verb (ὤν) must be supplied, as it were, in thought, when a substantive is found (put absolutely) joined with an adjective or with a pronoun: *Hist.*, iii., 26, *incipere oppugnationem—arduum, et nullo juxta subsidio anceps; Annal.*, xi., 23, *suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis;* that is, when yet the nations of Italy were of the same race as the Romans; *Livy*, xxxvi., 6, *labante—disciplina et multorum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse non posset.* The ellipsis is harsher when the adjective or substantive is used alone in this manner: *Annal.*, i., 6, *juxta periculosa ficta seu vera promeret, i. e.*, cum

juxta periculosum esset (as Livy; so *dubio, incerto, sereno*); *Annal.*, iv., 5, *initio ab Syria* (in other passages we read *initio—orto;* as, *Hist.*, iii, 44, *initio—a prima Adjutrice legione orto*); iii., 28, *dedit jura, quîs pace et principe uteremur;* i., 59, *aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse supplicia.* Compare *Cæsar, B. C.*, ii., 23, *Cæsaris naves ejus fuga se receperunt.* Like this is the use of the ablative of substantives in the place of an adverb, as in the older writers, also, *casu, consensu, nomine, ratione, judicio* (as if *adhibito* were to be added), and similar words are found: *Annal.*, i., 59, *non enim se proditione—sed palam—bellum tractare; Dial.*, 25, *solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue judicium animi sui detexisse; Annal.*, xiv., 5, *Acerronia imprudentia* (cum imprudenter ageret)—*navalibus telis conficitur*, which serve, as it were, for a transition to that use of the ablative in which, oftener than in other writers, it is used by itself, without the participle which is commonly joined with it (*ductus, commotus*), to express a reason; *Annal.*, i., 57, *juvenis conscientia cunctabatur; Hist.*, i., 63, *non ob prædam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie; Annal.*, xii., 10, *non se fœderis ignaros, nec defectione a familia Arsacidarum venire.* The perfect passive participle is put absolutely, the substantive being omitted much oftener in Tacitus than in the older writers: *Annal.*, i., 35, *strictum obtulit gladium addito acutiorem esse.* Thus *adjecto, cognito, intellecto, comperto, audito, explorato, nuntiato, quæsito, pensitato, prædicto, credito, distincto, repetito, certato, disceptato, exspectato, interdicto*, are found in this writer, and, what is very rare in other authors, even without the addition of any words to hold the place of the object: *Annal.*, xv., 14, *et multum invicem disceptato, Monobazus—testis—adhibetur.*

k. The SUPINE, which no writer uses more frequently than Tacitus, is used both in the accusative and ablative, for the sake of brevity; for example, *ultum, perditum, raptum, inlusum ire, oppugnatum venire; pudet dictu* appears to be used by Tacitus alone. *Missu, admonitu alicujus*, and similar phrases, are not without example in former writers.

l. Great power lies in the use of PREPOSITIONS when they are put, according to a rather unfrequent usage, for a simple case (sometimes, but not so often, the genitive or another case is used, contrary to the common mode of speech, in place of a preposition; as, *Hist.*, i., 46 *ne volgi largitione* (in vulgus) *centurionum animos averteret*). For example, *Annal.*, xii., 25, *adoptio in Domitium—festinatur;* xi., 2 *isque illi finis inscitiæ erga domum suam fuit* (in things relating to his house); *Hist.*, ii., 56, *in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales; Annal.*, iii., 24, *Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter;* xv., 44, *in crimine incendii*

—*convicti sunt;* i., 12, *addidit laudem de Augusto; Hist.*, i., 67, *de cæde Galbæ ignari; Annal.*, ii., 39, *forma haud dissimili in dominum erat; Agr.*, 12, *nec aliud pro nobis utilius.* Compare, On the variety of the Style of Tacitus, V., c., and On the Poetical Complexion, &c., III., d., γ.

IV. Frequently, in the composition of a sentence, a deeper sense lies hid when, the form of expression not being perfect and precise, and the ordinary connection of words being neglected, the feeling alone with which the soul of the writer is moved, and the thought which he has conceived in his mind, are expressed by a structure of the sentence which is called pregnant. There are, indeed, such passages in the writers of the former age also, chiefly in Livy; but not so used as to form an essential feature of their style. *Hist.*, iii., 49, *primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam* (incensam) *agebat; Annal.*, iv., 40, *posse ipsam Liviam statuere, nubendum post Drusum* (mortuum), *an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet; Annal.*, i., 39, *jus legationis* (violatum) *atque ipsius Planci—casum—facunde miseratur; Agr.*, 18, *qui classem, qui navis, qui mare exspectabant;* that is, the violence of the sea, and the aid to be gained from thence; *Annal.*, ii., 40, *offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur;* that is, to share the danger; *Hist.*, iv., 59, *ceteros, ut quisque flagitium navaverat* (that is, had exerted himself in perpetrating wickedness, as in Cicero we have *navare rempublicam*) *præmiis attollit.* The prepositions *in* and *ad* are often used to form a pregnant sense: *Annal.*, i., 55, *dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem;* that is, they quarreled to such a degree that some went over to the side of Arminius, and others to that of Segestes; chap. lvii., *uxor Arminii—neque victa in lacrimas* (that is, so as to shed tears), *neque voce supplex;* iii., 19, *ceteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis;* that is, so as to utter their testimony. Compare *Livy*, ii., 40, *Coriolanus—consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviæ complexum;* and vii., 42, *multitudinem ad arma consternatam esse.*

V. Nearly allied to these examples are the forms of speech to which the Greek grammarians have applied the terms σύλληψις and ζεῦγμα, in which words that refer to different kinds of things, or to different persons, are joined together, and included in one and the same kind of construction. Compare, On the Variety, &c., V., b., near the end.

a. The term Syllepsis I would apply chiefly to those passages in which things of an entirely different nature are mentioned in connection with each other; as, *donec ira et dies permansit; quia dis-*

simulationem nox et lascivia exemerat; ubi nocte ac lætitia incaluisse videt; mixti copiis et lætitia; Germania a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur; tribuni cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant. In all these cases some affection of the mind is so connected with things not pertaining to the mind, that, on account of this very difference between the two notions, you would expect them to be differently expressed, either by the use of words which properly belong to each, or, at least, by some variation in the construction of the sentence. To this head I would also refer those passages where the preposition *in*, joined with an accusative, includes at the same time the ablative or some other sense; *Germ.*, 46, *in medium relinquam*, *i. e.*, in dubium vocatum relinquam in medio; *Annal.*, iv., 25, *aderant semisomnos in barbaros, i. e.*, aderant et irruebant (see below, ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c., III., c., γ.): and, moreover, those in which the same word refers to different things, all of which might be joined with it according to the usage of the language; as, *Hist.*, iii., 41, *ut—Gallias et exercitus et Germaniæ gentes novumque bellum cieret.* Compare, also, *Hist.*, ii., 56, *in omne fas nefasque avidi*; that is, greedy of all things, whether it were right or wrong to desire them.

b. The term ZEUGMA applies to those cases in which a verb that only suits the words immediately preceding it, and not also those which are more remote, is yet made to embrace the latter as well as the former within the same kind of construction, some similar verb being, as it were, implied in the one used: *Annal.*, vi., 21, *tum complexus eum Tiberius præscium periculorum* (esse fatetur) *et incolumem fore gratatur*; chap. xxiv., *ut, quemadmodum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes* (interfecisset) *domumque omnem cædibus complevisset, ita*, &c.; *Germ.*, 2, *quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi ac nunc Tungri* (vocentur), *tunc Germani vocati sint*; chap. xxxvi., *ita qui olim boni æquique Cherusci* (vocabantur) *nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur*; *Annal.*, i., 58, *quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere* (putabam) *et pacem quam bellum probabam*; xiii., 56, *deesse nobis* (potest) *terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest*; *Hist.*, i., 8, *vir facundus et pacis artibus* (expertus), *bellis inexpertus.* But the zeugma is not always in the verb, but sometimes, also, in a word joined to it; as, *Annal.*, ii., 73, *et erant qui* (*Germanici*) *formam, ætatem, genus mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri* (formæ, ætati, et) *fatis adæquarent.*

VI. The figure which is properly called ELLIPSIS is met with extensively in Tacitus, and has very great power in augmenting the brevity and conciseness of his language. In the plays of the come-

dians, also, and in the letters of Cicero, this form of expression is often met with. A few examples of each case of it will suffice.

a. NOUNS are omitted: *Papia Poppæa* (lex), *Sulpicia* (gens), *postero* (die), *octingentesimo post Romam conditam* (anno), *ad duodecimum* (lapidem), *laureatæ* (litteræ), *Piræeus Atticæ oræ* (portus), *Apicata Sejani* (uxor), *pretium est* (operæ). Also, PRONOUNS: the substantive pronoun, *Annal.*, i., 35, *si vellet imperium, promtos* (se) *ostentavere:* the demonstrative pronoun; iv., 60, *gnarus præferocem* (eum esse): the relative pronoun; *Annal.*, vi., 7, *Seius Quadratus,* (cujus) *originem non repperi;* chap. xxxvi., *quîs neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed* (qui) *mercede aluntur.* There are examples, also, in older writers of the omission of the relative in those phrases which are placed in apposition with the principal sentence, either to afford an explanation or to express the intention: *Annal.*, vi., 10, *L. Piso pontifex,* (quod) *rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit;* i., 3, *Augustus, subsidia dominationi* (quæ essent) *Claudium Marcellum—Marcum Agrippam—extulit.*

b. VERBS are omitted.

α. The infinitive of the SUBSTANTIVE VERB; and in several passages this construction is such that the accusative or nominative appears to be simply joined with the verb on which the accusative with the infinitive depends: *Hist.*, ii. 82, *sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis* (τὸ nihil arduum esse); *Annal.*, i., 73, *deorum injurias dîs curæ.* But even the indicative and subjunctive moods of this verb are omitted oftener than in former writers; and the indicative chiefly in those passages which express the more vehement emotions of the mind: *Annal.*, ii., 82, *at Romæ, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit—dolor, ira; Hist.*, ii., 29, *ut vero deformis et flens et præter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium, miseratio, favor;* iv., 46, *ut vero huc illuc distrahi cœpere, metus per omnes et præcipua Germanici militis formido. Annal.*, i., 65, *cum—apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptæ voces* (essent), *atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo.*

β. POSSE, FACERE, AGERE, VERERI, VENIRE, IRE, SE CONFERRE are omitted; as, *Annal.*, xiii., 41, *Artaxata—solo æquata sunt, quia nec teneri* (poterant), *sine valido præsidio—nec id nobis virium erat,* &c.; Agr., 19, *nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei* (actum); *Annal.*, i., 47, *quos igitur anteferret? ac* (verendum) *ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur;* xiv., 8, *anxia Agrippina quod nemo a filio* (veniret) *ac ne Agerinus quidem* (rediret).

γ. Very often VERBS OF SENSE AND SPEECH are omitted; as, *Agr.*, 33, *excepere orationem—alacres; jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque procursu* (conspiciebantur); *Annal.*, i., 7, *vul-*

tuque composito, ne læti (viderentur) *excessu principis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas, gaudium—miscebant;* chap. xxxi., *non unus hæc* (*dicebat*)—*sed multa seditionis ora vocesque.*

c. PARTICLES are omitted by no other writer more frequently: *Annal.*, xiv., 8, *respicit Anicetum* (a) *trierarcho—comitatum;* iii., 19, *is finis fuit* (in) *ulciscenda Germanici morte;* i., 12, (ex) *vultu offen sionem conjectaverat;* xiv., 40, *tabulas* (cum) *iis quos memoravi et aliis minus inlustribus obsignat; Agr.*, 35, *ne simul in frontem, simul et* (in) *latera suorum pugnaretur; Annal.*, iii., 30, (incertum est) *fato potentiæ raro sempiternæ, an* (quia) *satias capit,* &c. So *quod, cum* (followed by *tum*), *licet, magis, tantum, tanto, eo, potius, alii, hinc, primum, modo, aliquando, ut, ita, tamen, sed* are omitted in many places. Whole sentences are omitted before the particles *nam* and *enim* (just as in the Greek writers *γάρ* is used in the same way): *Annal.*, xiv., 44, *at quidam insontes peribunt!* (and no wonder; nec mirum) *nam et ex fuso exercitu—etiam strenui sortiuntur!* chap. xiv., *nam et ejus flagitium est qui,* &c. To the same head belongs the figure ASYNDETON, so much used by Tacitus: *Hist.*, i., 3, *futurorum præsagia, læta, tristia, ambigua, manifesta;* chap. lxxiii., *consulari matrimonio subnixa, et apud Galbam, Othonem, Vitellium inlæsa; Annal.*, iii., 26, *vetustissimi mortalium—sine probro, scelere eoque sine pœna—agebant; Hist.*, iv., 75, *eum, qui attulerat, ipsas epistolas ad Domitianum misit.*

VII. To this law of brevity some forms of expression appear to be opposed, which, however, in reality, increase the force and liveliness of the narration.

a. The figure which is called by Quintilian ANADIPLOSIS, or adjection; that is, the repetition or even more frequent reiteration of the same word (chiefly of particles) with a certain force. This is generally so managed that the repetition answers the purpose of an omitted copulative conjunction, only that it has greater power: *Annal.*, i., 7, *miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur; Hist.*, i., 50, *mansisse Caio Julio, mansisse Cæsare Augusto victore imperium; Annal.*, ii., 82, *statim credita, statim vulgata sunt; Dial.*, 40, *apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia* (*ut sic dixerim*) *omnes poterant; nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se—confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla—concordia, nulla—moderatio, nulla—reverentia, nullus—modus, tulit,* &c. This passage is a clear proof that it was chiefly as an orator that Tacitus used this mode of expression, as there are very many examples of it in Cicero and Quintilian, but few in the historical writers, if you except Livy, who affects the style of an orator

b. Words which are commonly called SYNONYMOUS, but which, in truth, are of such a nature that the one augments, explains, and amplifies with a new sense the signification of the other. Generally, substantives, of which Tacitus is very fond, are constructed in this manner: *seditio et turbæ, fulgor et claritudo, dolor et ira, odium et invidia, modestia et pudor, sanguis et cædes, vires et robur. Veteres et senes, antiqui ac veteres,* do not so much belong to this head, as they do not express the same things. Of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs so used, the number is less. The following are examples: *incertum et ambiguum, immotum fixumque, turbide et seditiose, temere ac fortuito, occultare et abdere, pollui fœdarique.*

c. The figure called in Greek ἓν διὰ δυοῖν (Hendiadys), of which we have an example in the well-known passage, *pateris libamus et auro.* But the examples of this figure which are found in Tacitus (and they are very many) prove that there is a greater power in substantives and adjectives, constructed after this manner, than in the usual form of speech: *Agr.*, 16, *nec ullum in barbaris sævitiæ genus omisit ira et victoria* (this has greater force than *ira victoris;* it is anger and the license of victory, rather than of the conquerors); *Germ.*, 33, *super sexaginta milia—oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt* (not simply *oblectationi oculorum*, but for our entertainment and the mere pleasure of the spectacle). The copulative conjunction often serves for an explanation: *Annal.*, i., 40, *incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen* (not *miserabile mulierum agmen,* but a troop consisting of women, and for that reason chiefly miserable).

d. As to the examples of PLEONASM, they proceeded less from the genius of Tacitus than from the common usage of the Latin language, nor do they detract in any measure from the brevity of the discourse; since none of the old writers has given offence by thus, as it were, expressing things abundantly. But there are also many among these passages of such a kind that the one word adds something to the meaning of the other. Thus, *mare Oceanum* is spoken of just as *Rhenus amnis; corpus* in all writers (contrary to the usage of our language) is used pleonastically in such passages, *corporis morbus, corporum verbera, libera corpora* (liberi homines): *ante prævidere, ante prædicere* are also used in the older writers; *ipse solus, Germ.*, 38, and *Dial.*, 5, and *solus et unus, Dial.*, 34, are explained by referring to the Greek αὐτὸς μόνος, and also to that passage of Cicero, *Verr.*, i. 2 (*quod ipsis solis satis esset*).

ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

That there was among the Greeks in the most ancient times a great resemblance between the poets and the historical writers, is sufficiently proved by that well-known comparison in which we are wont to speak of Homer, the father of epic poetry, as an author resembling Herodotus, while we call the latter the Homer of history. Among the Romans the plan of composing history was different; for, having at first attended only to the registering of annals, and having thus been accustomed to set more value on the facts themselves, than on the expression of the feelings which move the mind in narrating and judging of the several events, when afterward they were led on, chiefly by the example of the Greeks, to aspire to more perfect skill in the art of writing history also, they then sought more after the ornaments of rhetoric than of poetry. And thus, indeed, you would justly mention Titus Livius as the most perfect model among all the Roman historians, and as the author who chiefly establishes the ability of the Romans for that species of composition, and, above all, as far excelling those writers who, like Lucan, Silius, and others, by doing little more than narrating events in stiff language, lessened the gravity of epic verse and hurt the dignity of history, while they in vain affected poetical language in order to ornament their records of bare facts. Tacitus alone, among all these writers, is worthy to be compared with those Greeks; because he sought not poetical ornaments from without, but was strong in the power of his own genius, and in the innate poetical sublimity of his mind. And as Herodotus presents to us the likeness of the epic, so does our author chiefly that of the lyric and dramatic muse, by arranging every event he records after the manner of a tragic poet, and in all things expressing the impulses of his own mind, nay, even the inmost feelings of his soul. When, as we read his annals and histories, we see the efforts made by men worthy of a better age against the cruelty of princes and the common corruption of manners falling fruitless to the ground, but yet perceive, at the same time, that there can be good and brave men even under evil rulers; when we behold fortune, fate, nay, the gods themselves, ruling in a wonderful and ever inscrutable manner the divers chances of human events; as we contemplate in his books of annals the fatal extinction of the Julian race, and in his histories the mighty efforts to establish anew an empire already desolate and falling; do we not seem to ourselves to be reading some tragic composition, such as those of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides? is not the mournful image of a Niobe presented before our eyes? are not our souls per-

vaded with a kind of horror as at the sight of a Laocoon attempting in vain to burst the frightful knots of serpents? Surely it is a design worthy of the dignity of the Roman Empire, to expend all the resources of so profound a skill in setting forth what was the fate and what the chances of events, through which the power of a "people, now for a long time most mighty, destroyed itself;" what were the vices both of citizens and rulers, which provoked the vengeance and punishment of the immortal gods, so that that mighty imperial structure began to fall to ruin. Behold a second Scipio, not sitting among the ruins of proud Carthage when she had just fulfilled her destiny, but on the soil of Rome herself, even now sinking to destruction, and prophesying with gushing tears the ruin of his country! See him meditating, not with a factitious and far-fetched effort, but under aspects which to such a mind present themselves spontaneously, upon the image of his country, before so excellent and so perfect in all its parts, now distorted and ruined! And we see that he practiced no less art than Sophocles used in his divine tragedies, in arranging every several part, and assigning its own place to each. After prefixing, both to the histories and to the books of annals, a prologue, in which not only the argument of the whole work, but its entire plan and character, are briefly shadowed forth, he then leads the minds of his readers, now with a quickened, and now with a slackened and restrained pace, through all the stages of the action, which are meted out in a manner fit and suitable to the things themselves and to the laws of art; and he so depicts the natures and characters of men, and of the actions performed by them; he so portrays real life, even in its most varied and troubled forms—whether he writes of battles and the storming of cities, or whether of things done in the palaces of princes, and the houses of private men—that all these things we seem to behold with our own eyes, and to be present at them ourselves. But these are matters of such a kind that their nature can be less easily described than conceived in the mind itself. We shall proceed to illustrate, by examples, those points alone which belong to the poetical form of the language itself.

I. Among these examples, the COLLOCATION OF THE WORDS themselves first claims our attention. For, in some passages in Tacitus, either whole or half verses are found: *Annal.*, i., 1, *Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere;* xv., 73, *donec consensu patrum deterritus est, ne; Germ.*, 18, *bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis;* chap. xxxii., *præcellunt; nec major apud Cattos peditum laus;* chap. xxxix., *auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram.* But Cicero has already observed that verses often fall, also, from the pens of writers through

carelessness, of which there are examples in Livy and many other authors: Livy, moreover, as well as Tacitus, begins the preface to his books of histories with an hexametrical exordium. And, indeed, this circumstance, especially when two principal writers agree in it, I can not believe to have fallen out at a venture; but in the case of Tacitus especially, to whose language gravity (σεμνόν) is said peculiarly to belong, I should suppose, not, indeed, that he took pains to frame a verse in the very outset of his work, but that he retained one which had spontaneously offered itself to his mind.

II. Single Words are used poetically.

a. Words in themselves poetical, and belonging to a former age: *desolatus, eburnus, exspes, fatiscere, grandævus, mersare, præsagus, secundare*, &c. And of a later age: *adcursus* (us), *distinctus* (us), *honorus*. Simple verbs used for compounds: *asperare, celerare, cire, flere* (aliquid), *gravescere, jutus, propinquare, radere, solari, suescere, temnere*, of a later age *flammare*.

b. Words poetical in their signification (chiefly those so used by metonyme): *cura* de libro, *demissus* = originem trahens, *fides, fiducia* applied to a man who inspires confidence (*Hist.*, ii., 4, 5. *Titus—ingens rerum fiducia accessit* et *præcipua concordiæ fides Titus*), *flagitium* = efflagitatio, *puerperium* = partus, *sinister* = malus, *species* = acies oculorum),* *triste* used as a substantive; in the poets of the later age: *annus* = proventus anni, *transigere* = transfigere, *transmittere* = transire silentio. Abstract terms are used for concrete much oftener than in other prose writers: *auxilia, vigiliæ, militia* (= milites, *Hist.*, iii., 18, *quos militiæ legionariis—æquabant;* compare *Plin.*, *Hist. Nat.*, iv., 27, *Glessaria a succino militiæ*—by the soldiers, militibus nostris—*appellata, a barbaris Austraria*), *delectus* (*in civitates remittere, Hist.*, iv., 71), *matrimonia, conjugium, necessitudines, adfinitates, amicitiæ, dominationes, nobilitates, remigium, clientelæ servitium, exsilium* (*Hist.*, i., 2, *plenum exsiliis mare*), *antiquitas, consultationes, mors, ingenia* (*pavida, servilia*). Substantives are put for adjectives, *spectator populus, domus regnatrix, corruptor animus, victor exercitus, bellator equus* (according to the Greek form of expression). Adjectives are also used in the place of substantives, see III., b.

* *Annal.*, xi., 31, *sive ceperat ea* (tempestatem; but Tacitus appears to have written *ea* designedly to express a less conspicuous object; any thing of the kind) *species* (ejus). Compare *Livy*, xxxvii., 24, *spectaculum capessite oculis.* So *Lucret.*, iv., 242, *speciem quo vertimus*, and oftener; *Vitruv.*, ix., 4, *si tantis intervallis nostra species potest id animadvertere*, and in other places.

III. Poetical Structure of the Words: Græcisms* (some words have also a Greek form: *Dial.*, 31, *grammatice, musice, et geometrice.* But Tacitus has never followed the practice of his age, in mixing words belonging to the Greek tongue with Latin words).

a. In the use of the Cases. Concerning the ellipsis in the uso of the Genitive, see, On the Brevity, &c., VI., a.: *Apicata Sejani* (uxor), as the Greeks say *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου*; *Piræeus Atticæ oræ* (portus); as, *εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου*, sc. *χώραν*. *Annal.*, xv., 14, *adjecisse deos* (*dignum Arsacidarum*) *ut simul*, &c., *ἄξιον τῶν Ἀρσ*. Compare *Cic.*, *Balb.*, 2, *mihi quidem dignum rei videtur.* Concerning the peculiar use of the partitive genitive (*οἱ φρόνιμοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων*), see, On the Brevity, &c., III., b. The genitive is nowhere found more frequently than in Tacitus joined to relative adjectives and participles (as *ἄπαις ἀῤῥένων παίδων*), and the same may be said of the Accusative, where it is used to apply or restrict the discourse to any object (*πόδας ὠκύς, πάντα εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα*). A few examples will suffice: *ingens animi, diversus animi, fallax amicitiæ, vetus operis ac laboris, morum non spernendus, præcipuus circumveniendi, primus luendæ pœnæ, anxius potentiæ, virtutum sterilis, insolens obsequii, manifestus delicti, ferox linguæ, atrox odii; contectus humeros, nudus brachia, adlevari animum, cetera degener, cetera egregius.* The Dative is put for the genitive after the manner of the poets: *Hist.*, iii., 5, *Rœtia, cui Porcius procurator erat; Annal.*, xiii., 23, *cui* (cujus) *per nuptias Antoniæ gener erat* (Cic., *Demochares—qui fuit Demostheni sororis filius*); *Annal.*, i., 3, *Augustus subsidia dominationi—Marcellum —Agrippam—extulit;* ii., 64, *immittere latronum globos, exscindere castella, causas bello;* chap. 46, *missus tamen Drusus—paci firmator;* iii., 14, *vario rumore, custos saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur.* For a preposition: *Annal.*, xi., 37, *florenti filiæ haud concors; Hist.*, iv., 52, *Domitiano mitigatus, i. e.*, mitigatus in Domitiani animo. There is a brevity (*βραχυλογία*) in the use of the dative of the participle: *Annal.*, xiv. 49,, *optimum quemque jurgio lacessens et respondenti reticens;* that is, keeping silence if any one answered. There is a very close resemblance to this in the use of the dative absolute, borrowed by the Latins from the Greeks (thus Herodotus: *ἀληθέϊ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ*), *Agr.*, 11; *Germ.*, 6, *in universum æstimanti* (Curt.); *Hist.*, iv., 17, *vere reputantibus, Galliam suismet viribus concidisse.* Compare *Livy*, xxvi., 24, *urbium Corcyræ tenus ab Ætolia incipienti solum tectaque—Ætolorum esse* (so *Herodotus*, ii., 29, *ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἰόντι ἄναντές ἐστι χωρίον*). On the similar use of the genitive, see, On the Brevity, &c., III., b. *Annal.*, xiv., 61, and xi., 23. The dative,

* But many, also, of the peculiarities explained above, may be considered as borrowed from the Greek language

which is called subjective, is used more frequently by no writer than by Tacitus with passive verbs, in place of a preposition with the ablative. In this circumstance the Greeks have a still greater variety and pliability in their language, as is clear from the fact that, besides this dative (*λέλεκταί μοι, ἐπράττετο αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως*) they use not only the preposition *ὑπό*, but others also, *πρός, παρά, ἐκ*. Among the Latins, the poets have not unfrequently used this form of speech; as Ovid, *Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli;* but Cicero too, Livy, and others use it. So Tacitus, *Annal.*, i., 1, *veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt;* iv., 6, *frumenta—cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur;* xi., 29, *Callistus jam mihi circa necem Caii Cæsaris narratus.* Concerning the accusative, see above, On the Brevity, &c., III., d.

b. In the use of Adjectives.*

a. In the place of Substantives are put neuter adjectives, mostly joined with the genitive (the singular of the adjective being used less often than the plural), as well by Livy and other writers as by the poets and Tacitus (*τὰ καλά, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, τὸ τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων, τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς, ἄσημα βοῆς, i. e., ἄσημος βοὴ, τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημνισμένα*). *Annal.*, i., 1, *populi Romani prospera vel adversa;* iii., 40, *per conciliabula et cœtus seditiosa disserebant;* xiv., 15, *quin et feminæ inlustres informia meditari.* *Annal.*, iii., 59, *diverso terrarum distineri;* ii., 39, *adire municipia obscuro diei.* *Annal.*, iv., 23, *incerta belli metuens;* as, *ambigua, dubia, fortuita, intuta, certa, avia, inaccessa, angusta, ardua, lubrica, edita, obstantia, opportuna, amœna, plana, subjecta, aperta, profunda, secreta, adversa, sæva, subita, occulta, operta, idonea, vana, inania, falsa, tacita, longinqua, prima, extrema, summa, præcipua, reliqua, cetera, alia, pauca, multa,* are found in Tacitus, joined with the genitive plural.

β. Adjectives are very often used by him, as well as by the poets, after the manner of the Greeks (*αἰνά* for *αἰνῶς, εὗδον παννύχιοι, i. e., νυκτί, δευτεραῖος ἀφίκετο, i. e., δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ*), for Adverbs, when greater power is thereby given to the discourse: *Annal.*, iv., 12, *domum Germanici revirescere occulti lætabantur;* xii., 12, *si citi advenissent;* v., 1, *aufert marito* (Liviam)—*adeo properus, ut,* &c.; *Agr.*, 19, *a se suisque orsus primam domum suam coercuit;* *Annal.*, iii., 52, *adversum luxum, qui inmensum proruperat;* iv., 60, *Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu;* chap. 28, *innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum.*

γ. The use of the Preposition Ex for Adjectives and Ad-

* Many points, also, in the mode of comparison which are borrowed from the Greek language, have been noticed above. (See, On the Variety, &c., V., d.)

VERBS is very common in Tacitus. This mode of expression the poets have generally used after the manner of the Greeks (*ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*, and also in the plural number, which is never thus used by Latin writers, *ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν*), and some examples of this have even passed into the language of common discourse; as, *ex improviso, ex inopinato, ex insperato, ex composito, ex præparato, ex æquo, ex occulto*, in Livy, *ex tuto, ex vano, ex supervacuo:* many instances are found in the writers of the Silver Age; as, *ex abundanti, ex continenti* (continuo), *ex pari, ex toto;* in Tacitus, *ex honesto, ex integro, ex vano, ex facili, ex adfluenti, ex æquo* in many places. And on a like principle, *per silentium, per iram, per licentiam, in aperto, in levi, in neutrum, in mollius, in deterius.* See, ON THE BREVITY, &c., VII., d., at the end.

c. IN THE USE OF THE VERB. Concerning the indefinite (aoristical) use of the tenses, see, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., g., i., and concerning the use of the infinitive, *ibid.*, III., f. The infinitive is used by attraction with the nominative in place of the accusative; as in that passage of Virgil, *sensit medios delapsus in hostes; Hist.*, iv., 55, *ipse e majoribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socius* (esse) *jactabat;* in like manner, *Herod.*, viii., 137, *τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι.* On the other hand, the accusative, instead of the nominative, is joined with the infinitive, after the Greek custom (*ἔφη εἶναι στρατηγόν = στρατηγός*): *Hist.*, iv., 52, *Titum—orasse dicebatur;* i., 90, *Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur; Germ.*, 33, *Angrivarios immigrasse narratur.* Very seldom *dicitur;* more frequently, in Livy, *creditur, proditur, traditur, fertur, nuntiatur*, are found thus used. The infinitive supplies the place of the substantive and gerund, after the usage of the Greeks, which has been received by the poets, and in a few examples, also, by the writers of the former age.

α. For the nominative: *Annal.*, xv., 20, *culpa quam pœna tempore prior, emendari quam peccare posterius est; Hist.*, ii., 82, *sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum* (esse) *fatis.*

β. For the genitive, and sometimes for the ablative: *Annal.*, vi., 12, *dato sacerdotibus negotio—vera discernere; Dial.*, 3, *etiamsi non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses—adgregare* (*Cæsar, B. G.*, vii., 71, *consilium—dimittere*); *Agr.*, 8, *peritus* (*τοῦ*) *obsequi eruditusque* (*τῷ*) *utilia honestis miscere; Annal.*, iv., 52, *modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere* (a case without example, even in the poets); *Annal.*, ii., 57, *atrox ac dissentire manifestus; Agr.*, 25, *paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, "oppugnasse ultro," castella adorti.* Compare *Livy*, iv., 31, *civitas vinci insueta, πόλις χαλεπὴ λαβεῖν, ἐπιτήδειος ποιεῖν, διαφέρειν τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι.*

γ. For the accusative, and sometimes for the dative, and for the former chiefly when a substantive in the same case goes before: *Annal.*, xiii., 15, *quia nullum crimen neque jubere cædem fratris palam audebat* (compare *Cic.*, *Tusc.*, i., 26, *ut Jovi bibere ministraret*); *Annal.*, iv., 56, *factus natura et consuetudine exercitus* (τῷ) *velare odium fallacibus blanditiis; Dial.*, 10, *tamquam minus obnoxium sit* (τῷ) *offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium.* Compare *Xen.*, *Apol. Socr.*, 14, ἵνα ἔτι μᾶλλον—ἀπισῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. See above, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., f. There is another Græcism in those cases where the particle (ὥστε, so as) is implied in the infinitive: *Annal.*, xi., 1, *non extimuisse contionem populi Romani, fateri, gloriamque facinoris ultro petere;* xii., 50, *atrox hiems, seu parum provisi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes percellunt Vologesen omittere præsentia.* Compare *Thucydides*, iii., 6, τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον, μὴ χρῆσθαι, Μυτιληναίους.

The SUBJUNCTIVE, after the manner of the Greek optative, is used both by other writers and by Tacitus to imply that a thing has been done frequently: *Annal.*, i., 27, *postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis —occurreret, manus intentantes;* chap. 44, *si tribuni, si legio industriam—adprobaverant, retinebat ordines: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solvebatur militia* (οὓς μὲν ἴδοι εὐτάκτως —ἰόντας—ἐπῄνει). Concerning the use of the PARTICIPLE, compare, ON THE BREVITY, &c., III., i. Evidently after the Greek fashion, which is adopted also by Sallust, we read in Tacitus *invito, cupienti, volenti mihi est,* for *nolo, cupio, volo: Annal.*, i., 59, *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat,* ἀχθομένοις ἢ ἡδομένοις ἦν; *Agr.*, 18, *ut quibus bellum volentibus erat.* We may find an explanation of this in the passages in which *volens* has the same sense as *gratum* (just as *gnarus* is used for *notus*): *Hist.*, iii., 52, *Muciano volentia rescripsere* (Sallust, *volentia plebi facturus videbatur*); and *Annal.*, ii., 4, *Ariobarzanem—volentibus Armeniis præfecit* (compare *Soph.*, *Œd. Col.*, 1505, ποθοῦντι προυφάνης); *Sall.*, *Jug.*, 76, *pœnas ipsi volentes pependere.* Add, lastly, the following phrases, which are actually translated from the Greek, and which are common in the poets, Sallust, Livy, and others, namely, *est* for *licet*, and *amare* for *solere: Germ.*, 5, *est videre apud illos argentea vasa; Annal.*, iv., 9, *ut ferme amat posterior adulatio;* ἔστι, φιλεῖ.

d. IN THE USE OF PARTICLES.

a. Vercor is omitted before the particle *ne* (see above, on the ellipsis of verbs), as in Greek authors we have μὴ τοῦτο ἄλλως ἔχῃ. The particle *cum* is often wanting (as in Ovid); *Annal.*, iii., 64, *quindecimviri septemviris simul;* iv., 55, *Hypæpeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul;* vi., 9, *Appius Silanus Scauro Mamerco simul.* Compare *Hom.*, *Od.*, iv., 723, ὅσσαι μοι ὁμοῦ τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο.

β. Annal., xvi., 9, *donec a centurione—tamquam in pugna caderet* (so *Suetonius, Otho*, 5, *ab hoste cadere; Nepos de regibus*, iii., 3, *periit a morbo*)—*θανεῖν ὑπὸ τινός. Annal.*, ii., 47, *Magnetes a Sipylo*, as on coins we read Μαγνησία ἀπὸ Σιπύλου. Compare *Livy*, i., 50, *Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia* (Aricinus) *ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus.*

γ. The preposition *in* is often used to give greater force where, from the common form of speech, you would expect *ad*, or simply a case of the noun, or some other construction: *in id, in hoc, εἰς τοῦτο* (Livy, Velleius, and the poets); *in majus celebrare* (Livy and Sallust), and the like phrases, *ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμεῖν, in unum consulere, εἰς μίαν βουλεύειν, in unum cedere, εἰς ἓν ἔρχεσθαι* (Livy, Sallust), *in longum, in presens, εἰς ὥρας, εἰς τὸ παρόν* (Livy, Sallust, Cicero), *in tantum, in vulgus, in cetera, in diversum; Annal.*, xii., 35, *plus vulnerum in nos et pleræque cædes oriebantur;* ii., 47, *asperrima in Sardianos lues;* chap. 39, *forma haud dissimili in dominum erat;* as the Greeks say, *εἰς πάντα, εἰς ἀγαθὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐς φόβον, εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν. Annal.*, iv., 25, *aderant semisomnos in barbaros* (see above, On the Brevity, &c., V., a., under syllepsis); as *ἐς θρόνους ἕζοντο, ἐφάνη λῖς εἰς ὁδόν.*

δ. We find answering to the Greek phrases, *οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, ἡ ἐξαίφνης μετάστασις, Agr.*, 25, *universæ ultra gentes; Annal.*, xiii., 41, *cuncta extra, tectis tenus, sole inlustria fuere* (compare *Livy*, xxiii., 27, *omni circa agro potiuntur*); *Annal.*, i., 27, *is ante alios ætate et gloria belli* (excelling others); *Hist.*, ii., 76, *tua ante omnes experientia;* v., 12, *propriique muri labore et opere ante alios.*

ε. Adverbs are joined with the substantive verbs instead of adjectives: *longe, velocius, frustra, impune est*, as in Greek authors we have *δὴν, ἑκαστάτω εἶναι*; and *bene, male, recte est*, are the common forms of expression in speaking of the state of a person's health.

IV. The Form of Expression itself is Poetical; as, *equestris procella, aliquid ultra mortale gaudium accipere, arbiter rerum, dira quies, in limine belli, conjux sex partus enixa, trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine, sera juvenum Venus, marcentem pacem nutrire, vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum quotidie volvitur.* This poetical language consists generally in the following particulars:

a. Inanimate Objects are spoken of as having life, whence he not only speaks thus of animals: *Germ.*, 9, *ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis*, but, also, still more boldly, *Annal.*, i., 79, *quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere;* xv., 15, *flumen—vi equorum perrupere* (as if it were a hostile army); *Germ.*, 40, *est in insula Oceani castum nemus; Hist.*, v., 6, *præcipuum montium Libanum erigit* (Judæa), *mirum dictu tantos inter*

ardores opacum fidumque nivibus; idem amnem Jordanen fundit alitque; Germ., 27, *sepulcrum cæspes erigit; Annal.*, xv., 62, *lacrimas eorum modo sermone, modo intentior in modum coercentis ad firmitudinem revocat; Hist.*, i., 17, *circumsteterat interim palatium publica exspectatio magni secreti impatiens;* chap. ii., *opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox prœliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum; Annal.*, i., 31, *multa seditionis ora vocesque;* chap. 61, *incedunt mæstos locos*, at the end: *ubi infelici dextra—mortem invenerit.*

b. The Prosopopœia of Time is very frequent: *Annal.*, vi., 51, *morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque* (tempus), *quoad privatus—fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus*, &c., whence it is clear that in these things, also, variety has been aimed at; *Germ.*, 30, *disponere diem, vallare noctem; Hist.*, i., 80, *obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat; Annal.*, xiii., 17, *nox eadem necem Britannici et rogum conjunxit;* chap. 33, *idem annus plures reos habuit;* iv., 15, *idem annus alio quoque luctu Cæsarem adficit alterum ex geminis Drusi liberis exstinguendo;* i., 54, *idem annus novas cærimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio; Agr.*, 22, *tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit; Hist.*, v., 10, *proximus annus civili bello intentus; Annal.*, iv., 31, *quem vidit sequens ætas præpotentum, venalem;* xv., 38, *fessa aut rudis pueritiæ ætas;* xiv., 33, *si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa ætas—attinuerat.* Livy has not unfrequently used this form of expression, as well as Velleius, Pliny the elder, Silius, and others; compare *Cicero, Brut.*, 92, *interim me quæstorem Siciliensis excepit annus.*

c. To the names of nations and of men are poetically joined verbs, which properly refer to the appellative to which those names should have been added in the genitive, or certainly verbs are made to refer to men which, in their common use, are only joined to appellatives and abstract nouns: *Annal.*, ii., 25, *ipse majoribus copiis Marsos inrumpit;* chap. 56, *Cappadoces in formam provinciæ redacti Quintum Veranium legatum accepere;* xii., 58, *tributum Apamensibus terræ motu convolsis—remissum; Agr.*, 22, *vastatis usque ad Taum—nationibus; Hist.*, ii., 87, *nec coloniæ modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur; Annal.*, ii., 25, *populatur, exscindit non ausum congredi hostem;* xii., 49, *dum socios magis quam hostes prædatur;* xvi., 13, *in qua* (urbe) *omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiæ depopulabatur; Agr.*, 41, *tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti* (where Walch, comparing the expression to Thucydides's use of ἐκπολιορκεῖν, quotes *Justin.*, iii., 4, 11, *expugnatis veteribus incolis; Lucret.*, iv., 1008, *reges expugnare; Livy*, xxiii., 30,

obsessos fame expugnavit; to which add, *Curt.*, iii., 1, 7, *se scire inexpugnabiles esse;* ix., 10, 7, *tria simul agmina populabantur Indos—maritimos Ptolemæus, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebant; Livy*, xxviii., 6, *finitimos depopulabantur; Epit.*, 47, *Illyrios—vastaverant*). *Annal.*, xii., 25, *se quoque accingeret juvene partem curarum capessituro;* iii., 63, *Milesios Dareo rege niti;* iv., 19, *hos corripi, dilato ad tempus Sabino, placitum; Hist.*, ii., 71, *Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit;* chap. 95, *magna et misera civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitelliumque passa;* iv., 52, *amicos tempore, fortuna—imminui, transferri, desinere* (that is, their attentions, their very friendship); *Annal.*, iv., 42, *Merulam—albo senatorio erasit;* vi., 42, *civitas—conditoris Seleuci retinens* (that is, of his institutions). Compare *Quintil.*, viii., 6, 25, *hominem devorari* (that is, his goods), *Plinius, Hist. Nat.*, vi., 24, *regi—percontanti postea narravit Romanos et Cæsarem;* vii., 2, *supra hos extrema in parte montium Trispithami Pygmæique narrantur.* And in the same way the older writers also use *loqui, narrare.*

C. CORNELIUS TACITUS

DE

SITU, MORIBUS ET POPULIS GERMANIÆ.

SUMMARY.

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I. Germania omnis a Gallis Rætisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus, separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Ræticarum Alpium inaccesso ac præcipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in Occidentem versus, septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobæ jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat; septimum enim os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos; quia nec terra olim, sed classibus, advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quærebant: et inmensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit? Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est) *Tuisconem Deum, terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque.*

Manno tres filios adsignant, *e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istævones vocentur.* Quidam autem, licentia vetustatis, *plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis adpellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios* adfirmant: *eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniæ vocabulum recens et nuper additum; quoniam, qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paullatim, ut omnes, primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis invento nomine,* Germani *vocarentur.*

III. *Fuisse apud eos et Herculem* memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in prœlia canunt. Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem *baritum* vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipso cantu augurantur: terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec tam vocis ille, quam virtutis concentus videatur. Adfectatur præcipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et *Ulixem,* quidam opinantur, *longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum, adisse Germaniæ terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque. Aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto Laërtæ patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam; monumentaque et tumulos quosdam, Græcis litteris inscriptos, in confinio Germaniæ Rætiæque adhuc exstare.* Quæ neque confirmare argumentis, neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat, vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui *Germaniæ populos nullis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos, propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse,* arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus; truces et cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum

valida. Laboris atque operum non eadem patientia: minimeque sitim æstumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam cœlo solove adsueverunt.

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida, aut paludibus fœda: humidior, qua Gallias; ventosior, qua Noricum ac Pannoniam adspicit: satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum patiens, pecorum fœcunda, sed plerumque inprocera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor, aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eæque solæ et gratissimæ opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim, nullam Germaniæ venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est? possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate, quam quæ humo finguntur: quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostræ pecuniæ agnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos, bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum conligitur. Rari gladiis, aut majoribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas*, gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri, et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est: pedites et missilia spargunt, plura singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus jactatio: scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt: paucis loricæ: vix uni alterive cassis, aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed nec variare

gyros, in morem nostrum, docentur. In rectum, aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In universum æstimanti, plus penes peditem roboris: eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos, ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: *centeni* ex singulis pagis sunt; idque ipsum inter suos vocantur: et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse, præcipuum flagitium: nec aut sacris adesse, aut concilium inire, ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas: et duces exemplo potius, quam imperio: si promti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione præsunt. Ceterum, neque animadvertere, neque vincire, ne verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum: non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt: effigiesque et signa quædam, detracta lucis, in prœlium ferunt. Quodque præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus, nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiæ et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt: nec illæ numerare, aut exigere plagas pavent: cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

VIII. Memoriæ proditur, quasdam acies, inclinatas jam et labantes, a feminis restitutas, constantia precum et objectu pectorum, et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent: adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter

obsides puellæ quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus, sub divo Vespasiano, Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent deas.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat: unde caussa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem. Ceterum, nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant; deorumque nominibus adpellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

X. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam, frugiferæ arbori decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliæ, precatus deos, cœlumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatos, secundum impressam ante notam, interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis, equorum quoque præsagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi, et nullo mortali opere contacti: quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes: se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et

alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum, quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant; de majoribus omnes: ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coëunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul, nec ut jussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. Ut turbæ placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coërcendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex, vel princeps, prout ætas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis, quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu adspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum adsensus genus est, armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud consilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio pœnarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt: ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames cœno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo pœna. Equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. Pars multæ regi, vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddant. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso consilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frameaque juvenem ornant. Hæc apud illos toga, hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicæ. Insignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac jam pridem probatis adgregantur: nec rubor, inter comites adspici. Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus, quem sectantur: magnaque et comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus; et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Hæc dignitas, hæ vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello præsidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat: expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adæquare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus adsignare, præcipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant; comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat; plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quæ tum bellum aliquod gerunt; quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescant, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulæ, et convictus, quamquam incomti, largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificientiæ per

bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum, tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur, sudore adquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque. Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia, ipsi hebent: mira diversitate naturæ, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus, ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum, vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent præcipue finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur; electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est: ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant, non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohærentibus ædificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive inscitia ædificandi. Ne cæmentorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quædam loca diligentius illinunt terra, ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt; et, si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quærenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibula, aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur

non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripæ negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras, et detracta velamina spargunt maculis, pellibusque belluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminæ sæpius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt; nudæ brachia ac lacertos.

XVIII. Sed et proxima pars pectoris patet: quamquam severa illic matrimonia; nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus, offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quæsita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur: atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert. Hoc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in prœlio passuram ausuramque. Hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se, quæ liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quæ nurus accipiant, rursusque ad nepotes referant.

XIX. Ergo septæ pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria; quorum pœna præsens, et maritis permissa. Accisis crinibus, nudatam,

coram propinquis, expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. Publicatæ enim pudicitiæ nulla venia; non forma, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet; nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eæ civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium, ament. Numerum liberorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis necare, flagitium habetur: plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges.

XX. (In omni domo nudi ac sordidi, in hos artus, in hæc corpora, quæ miramur, excrescunt.) Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera juvenum Venus; eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem juventa, similis proceritas. Pares validæque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt; tamquam ii et animum firmius, et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi; et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo major affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus, nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Nec inplacabiles durant. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus: utiliter in publicum; quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiæ

juxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur: pro fortuna quisque adparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes: proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris: et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus: sed nec data inputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, sæpius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatæ singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia, nec minus sæpe ad convivia, procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum. Crebræ, ut inter vinolentos, rixæ, raro conviciis, sæpius cæde et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et jungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello, plerumque in conviviis consultant: tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia joci. Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus. Proximi ripæ et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices; agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine adparatu, sine blandimentis, expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati, suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis, quam armis, vincentur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni cœtu

idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem: non in quæstum tamen, aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviæ pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam (quod mirere) sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia: ipsi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriæ exsolvant.

XXV. Ceteris servis, non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono, injungit; et servus hactenus paret. Cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum. Occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune. Libertini non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate; exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus, quæ regnantur. Ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

XXVI. Fenus agitare, et in usuras extendere, ignotum: ideoque magis servatur, quam si vetitum esset. Agri, pro numero cultorum, ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant. Arva per annos mutant; et superest ager: nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terræ seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et æstas intellectum, ac

vocabula habent; auctumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus, cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur. Sepulcrum cespes erigit. Monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, adspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est; viris meminisse. Hæc in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quæ nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse, summus auctorum divus Julius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat, quo minus, ut quæque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes, promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Mœnum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc *Boiemi* nomen, significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam, commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est: quia, pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripæ bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectationem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam, per hanc gloriam sanguinis, a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius *Agrippinenses* conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine eru-

bescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis, colunt, Cattorum quondam populus, et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquæ societatis insigne: nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus adterit: exemti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum prœliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo Populi Romani ultra Rhenum, ultraque veteres terminos, imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terræ suæ solo et coelo acrius animantur. Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopia audax, dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque præsidiis, sinus imperii et pars provinciæ habentur.

XXX. Ultra hos Catti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceteræ civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paulatimque rarescunt; et Cattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, et major animi vigor. Multum (ut inter Germanos) rationis ac sollertiæ: præponere electos, audire præpositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare: quodque rarissimum, nec nisi Romanæ disciplinæ concessum, plus reponere in duce, quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad prœlium ire videas, Cat-

tos ad bellum: rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere. Velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiæ est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rara et privata cujusque audentia apud Cattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec, nisi hoste cæso, exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque *tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus* ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper annulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se cæde hostis absolvat. Plurimis Cattorum hic placet habitus. Jamque canent insignes, et hostibus simul suisque monstrati: omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; hæc prima semper acies visu torva. Nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus, aut ager, aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur: prodigi alieni, contemtores sui; donec exsanguis senectus tam duræ virtuti impares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Cattis certum jam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinæ arte præcellunt; nec major apud Cattos peditum laus, quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere majores, posteri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, hæc juvenum æmulatio; perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et jura successionum equi traduntur; excipit filius, non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant; nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinarum consensu nationum; seu superbiæ odio, seu prædæ dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum: nam ne spectaculo quidem prœlii

invidere: super sexaginta milia, non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quæso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui; quando, urgentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuari cludunt, aliæque gentes, haud perinde memoratæ. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. *Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis* vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utræque nationes usque ad oceanum Rheno prætexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam oceanum illa tentavimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu, quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico: sed obstitit oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit; sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

XXXV. Hactenus in Occidentem Germaniam novimus. In Septemtrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Caucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis, ac partem litoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Cattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Cauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri: sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur: idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per injurias adsequuntur. Promta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus: plurimum virorum equorumque: et quiescentibus eadem fama.

XXXVI. In latere Caucorum Cattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt:

idque jucundius, quam tutius, fuit: quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita, qui olim *boni æquique* Cherusci, nunc *inertes ac stulti* vocantur: Cattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniæ sinum proximi oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens: veterisque famæ late vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Cæcilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone coss. Ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur. Tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi ævi spatio, multa invicem damna: non Samnis, non Pœni, non Hispaniæ Galliæve, ne Parthi quidem sæpius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis, quam cædem Crassi, amisso et ipso Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Cæpione Cnæo quoque Manlio fusis vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus Populo Romano, Varum tresque cum eo legiones etiam Cæsari abstulerunt: nec impune Caius Marius in Italia, divus Julius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes Caii Cæsaris minæ in ludibrium versæ. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiæ nostræ et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias adfectavere: ac rursus pulsi inde, proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non

una, ut Cattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune *Suevi* vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, seu (quod sæpe accidit) imitatione, rarum et intra juventæ spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in ipso solo vertice ligant. Principes et ornatiorem habent: ea cura formæ, sed innoxia. Neque enim ut ament amenturve; in altitudinem quamdam et terrorem, adituri bella, comti, ut hostium oculis ornantur.

XXXIX. *Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum* Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coëunt, cæsoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor, et potestatem numinis præ se ferens: si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur: eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum. Centum pagis habitant: magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed prœliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Hertham, id est, Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula

oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum: attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant; quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et hæc quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniæ porrigitur. Propior (ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis, eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Rætiæ provinciæ colonia: passim et sine custode transeunt; et, cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcomanni et Quadi agunt. Præcipua Marcomannorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsis olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniæ velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur. Marcomannis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus; jam et externos patiuntur. Sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, sæpius pecunia juvantur.

XLIII. Nec minus valent retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri: terga Marcomannorum Quadorumque cludunt: e

quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua, coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur: partem tributorum Sarmatæ, partem Quadi, ut alienigenis imponunt. Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt: omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium jugum, ultra quod plurimæ gentes agunt: ex quibus latissime patet Lygiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Arios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elysios, Naharvalos. Apud Naharvalos antiquæ religionis lucus ostenditur. Præsidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu: sed *deos, interpretatione Romana, Castorem Pollucemque* memorant. Ea vis numini; nomen *Alcis:* nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium: ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes, venerantur. Ceterum Arii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora: atras ad prœlia noctes legunt; ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum: nam primi in omnibus prœliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Lygios Gotones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam ceteræ Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab oceano Rugii et Lemovii: omniumque harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent: forma navium eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis

jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi: nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet oceanus, otiosæ porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem, neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem, armis præponere regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides; quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper audiri formasque deorum et radios capitis adspici persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque et fama vera tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æstyorum gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum; lingua Britannicæ propior. Matrem deum venerantur: insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omnique tutela securum deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius, quam pro solita Germanorum inertia, laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi *glesum* vocant, inter vada atque in ipso littore legunt. Nec, quæ natura, quæve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quæsitum compertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen: ipsis in nullo usu; rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quædam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quæ implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse, crediderim; quæ vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa littora exundant. Si naturam succini admoto igni tentes, in modum tædæ accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et

olentem: mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviæ finis.

XLVI. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor: procerum connubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant: hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos fingunt et scuta gestant et peditum usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant: idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque prædæ petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera jam fabulosa: *Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere:* quod ego, ut incompertum, in medium relinquam.

C. CORNELII TACITI

VITA

JULII AGRICOLÆ.

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JULII AGRICOLÆ

VITA.

SUMMARY.

Chap. I. The custom of writing the lives of illustrious men an ancient one. II. Dangerous, however, under bad princes. III. This custom resumed by Tacitus, under the happy reign of Nerva, in honor of Agricola, the writer's father-in-law. IV. Origin and education of Agricola. V. The rudiments of the military art learned by him in Britain. VI. He marries.—Is appointed, in succession, quæstor, tribune, prætor, &c. VII. His mother murdered during a hostile descent made by Otho's fleet on the coast of Liguria, her lands ravaged, and a great part of her effects carried off.—Agricola goes over to the side of Vespasian, and receives the command of the 20th legion, in Britain. VIII. Excellent deportment of Agricola while in command. IX. Returns to Rome.—Is called by Vespasian to the patrician order, and invested with the government of Aquitania.—Is chosen consul.—Betroths his daughter to Tacitus.—Is appointed governor of Britain. X. Description of Britain. XI. Origin of the Britons.—Their physical conformation, sacred rites, language, general character. XII. Their military strength, form of government, climate, soil, &c. XIII. Their cheerful submission to levies, tributes, &c.—The expedition of Cæsar into Britain.—Long neglect of the island subsequently, on the part of the Romans.—Invasion of Britain in the reign of Claudius, and restoration of the Roman authority. XIV. Operations of the consular governors. XV. Britons meditate a rebellion. XVI. Boadicea, a female of royal descent, their leader.—Defeated by Suetonius Paullinus.—Roman governors of inferior ability succeed Paullinus. XVII. Petilius Cerialis and Julius Frontinus restore affairs to their former footing.—The former subdues the Brigantes, the latter the Silures. XVIII. Agricola reduces the Ordovices, and the island Mona.—He finally brings the whole province into a peaceful state. XIX., XX. His moderation, prudence, equity, &c., in regulating the affairs of his province. XXI. Endeavors to reclaim the natives from their rude and unsettled state by making them acquainted with the comforts of civilized life. XXII., XXIII. New expeditions discover new nations of Britons to the Romans, and fortresses are erected to keep them in obedience.—Agricola's candor as regarded the meritorious actions of

others. XXIV. Design formed by him of invading Hibernia. XXV-XXVII. The countries situated beyond Bodotria are explored.—The Caledonians attack a portion of the forces of Agricola, but, after some partial successes, are defeated by him, on his coming up with his other forces.—New preparations made by the enemy. XXVIII. A cohort of the Usipii, by a strange chance, circumnavigate the island of Britain. XXIX. Agricola loses his son, about a year old.—The Britons renew the war, under Calgacus as their leader. XXX.-XXXII. Address of Calgacus to his followers. XXXIII., XXXIV. Address of Agricola to his soldiers. XXXV.-XXXVII. Fierce and bloody battle. XXXVIII. Victory of the Romans.—Agricola orders Britain to be circumnavigated. XXXIX. The account of these operations received by Domitian with outward expressions of joy, but inward anxiety. XL. He, nevertheless, directs honors to be rendered to Agricola.—The latter returns to Rome, and leads a modest and retired life. XLI. Often accused before Domitian, in his absence, but as often acquitted. XLII. Excuses himself from taking a province as proconsul. XLIII. Dies, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Domitian. XLIV. His age at the time of his death.—His personal appearance, &c. XLV. Happy in having ended his days before the atrocities of Domitian broke forth. XLVI. General reflections.

I. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus, quamquam incuriosa suorum ætas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere memoratu digna pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonæ tantum conscientiæ pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt: nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime æstimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur.

II. At mihi, nunc narraturo vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem, ni cursaturus tam sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus

Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum: et sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, ademto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci, quam tacere.

III. Nunc demum redit animus: et quamquam primo statim beatissimi sæculi ortu Nerva Cæsar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanæ tardiora sunt remedia, quam mala; et, ut corpora lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiæ dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promtissimus quisque sævitia principis interciderunt? Pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus; exemtis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos, per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit, vel incondita ac rudi voce, memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber, honori Agricolæ soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.

IV. Cnæus Julius Agricola, vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Cæsarum habuit, quæ equestris nobilitas est. Pater Julius Græcinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiæ sapientiæque notus, iisque virtutibus iram Caii Cæsaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare jussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis: in hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerat, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo, solitum ipsum narrare, *se in prima juventa studium philosophiæ acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.* Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem excelsæ magnæque gloriæ vehementius quam caute appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et ætas: retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus quem contubernio æstimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam retulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quæ cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatæ provinciæ gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere

juveni: intravitque animum militaris gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit: idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit: vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo; nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpæ est. Sors quæsturæ provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit: quorum neutro corruptus est; quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redemturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium et solatium simul: nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quæsturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem præturæ tenor et silentium: nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris modo rationis atque abundantiæ duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famæ propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus afflixit: nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga, dum Intemelios (Liguriæ pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolæ in prædiis suis interfecit; prædiaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quæ causa cædis fuerat. Igitur ad solennia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante.

Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam, integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimæ legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressæ, præposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat; nec legatus prætorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum, suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul, et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos, quam fecisse.

VIII. Præerat tunc Britanniæ Vettius Bolanus, placidius, quam feroci provincia dignum est: temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi, eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis modo labores et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: sæpe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu præfecit: nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit, ac deinde provinciæ Aquitaniæ præposuit, splendidæ in primis dignitatis, administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique, militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse; quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior, ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa. Ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et sæpius misericors: ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona: tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat: nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem

atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui sæpe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quæsivit: procul ab æmulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium, et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus, ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione, Britanniam ei provinciam dari: nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama, aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiæ tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit; et statim Britanniæ præpositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

X. Britanniæ situm populosque, multis scriptoribus memoratos, non in comparationem curæ ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; itaque, quæ priores, nondum comperta, eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia insularum, quas Romana notitia complectitur, maxima, spatio ac cœlo in orientem Germaniæ, in occidentem Hispaniæ obtenditur: Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur: septemtrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniæ Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni assimilavere: et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa: sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam littore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat; sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli: credo, quod rariores terræ montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles

continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam oceani atque æstus neque quærere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere: unum addiderim: nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec littore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio cœli corporibus habitum dedit: in universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas superstitionum persuasione: sermo haud multum diversus: in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido: plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

XII. In pedite robur: quædam nationes et curru prœliantur: honestior auriga, clientes propugnant: olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur: nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Cœlum crebris imbribus ac nebulis fœdum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram, et nox clara et extrema Britanniæ parte bre-

vis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. *Quod si nubes non officiant, adspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire* affirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque cœlum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, præter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt: eadem utriusque rei causa, multus humor terrarum cœlique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ: gignit et oceanus margarita, sed subfusca et liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur: nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt si injuriæ absint: has ægre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniæ etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius præceptum. Agitasse C. Cæsarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis pœnitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et assumto in partem rerum Vespasiano: quod initium venturæ mox fortunæ fuit. Domitæ gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius præpositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciæ proxima pars Britanniæ: addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quædam

civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) vetere ac jam pridem recepta Populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quæ fama aucti officii quæreretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque præsidiis: quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, aggressus, terga occasioni patefecit.

XV. Namque absentia legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere: *nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora, tamquam ex facili tolerantibus, imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona sæviret: æque discordiam præpositorum, æque concordiam, subjectis exitiosam: alterius manus, centuriones alterius, vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In prœlio fortiorem esse, qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse jugum, et flumine, non oceano, defendi: sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse: recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum æmularentur. Neve prœlii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, majorem constantiam, penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent: jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare: porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.*

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boadicea, generis regii femina, duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumsere universi bellum: ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis præsidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis: nec ullum in barbaris sævitiæ genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciæ motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret: quam unius prœlii fortuna veteri patientiæ restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat. Hic cum egregius cetera, arroganter in deditos, et, ut suæ quoque injuriæ ultor, durius consuleret, missus Petronius Turpilianus, tamquam exorabilior, et delictis hostium novus eoque pœnitentiæ mitior, compositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior, et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere, vitiis blandientibus; et interventus civilium armorum præbuit justam segnitiæ excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis, precario mox præfuit: ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, hæc seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quæ numerosissima provinciæ totius perhibetur, aggressus: multa prœlia, et aliquando non incruenta: magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello. Et cum Cerialis quidem alterius

successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniæ statum, has bellorum vices media jam æstate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites, velut omissa expeditione, ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem, verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem, prope universam obtriverat: eoque initio erecta provincia, ut quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum aut recentis legati animum opperiri. Tum Agricola—quamquam transacta æstas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, præsumta apud militem illius anni quies (tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo), et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur — ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in æquum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem; cæsaque prope universa gente, non ignarus, instandum famæ, ac, prout prima cessissent, fore universa, Monam insulam (cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniæ supra memoravi) redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem, aut officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate

rerum in vanitatem usus expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse: ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famæ famam auxit, æstimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciæ prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis, si injuriæ sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primum domum suam coercuit; quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei: non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos præponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum auctionem æqualitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quæ in quæstum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis, et emere ultro frumenta, ac vendere pretio cogebantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promtu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX. Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit; quæ vel incuria vel tolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi æstas advenit, contracto exercitu, militum in agmine laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere, loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque, ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ tanta ratione

curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniæ nova pars illacessita transierit.

XXI. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumta: namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque in bella faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promtos, et castigando segnes: ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga: paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos *humanitas* vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus: qua formidine territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum sævis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac fuga desertum. Crebræ eruptiones; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque præsidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna æstatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum æstate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio, seu præfectus, incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut bonis comis erat, ita adversus malos injucundus: ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres. Honestius putabat offendere, quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta æstas obtinendis, quæ percurrerat, in-

sumta; ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris æstibus per immensum revectæ, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum præsidiis firmabatur: atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis prœliis domuit: eamque partem Britanniæ, quæ Hiberniam adspicit, copiis instruxit in spem magis, quam ob formidinem: siquidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniæ comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cœlumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat. Sæpe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV. Ceterum æstate, qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostili exercitu itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quæ, ab Agricola primum assumta in partem virium, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac sæpe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et lætitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent; ac modo silvarum et montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britan-

nos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama (uti mos est de ignotis) oppugnasse ultro, castella adorti metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, specie prudentium ignavi admonebant; cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac, ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem cæsis vigilibus, irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabant, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem: et propinqua luce fulsere signa: ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis redit animus, ac, securi pro salute, de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam irrupere; et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis prœlium, donec pulsi hostes; utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvæ fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

XXVII. Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus, *nihil virtuti suæ invium; penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendumque tandem Britanniæ terminum continuo prœliorum cursu*, fremebant: atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, promti post eventum ac magniloqui erant: iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, cœtibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem

civitatum sancirent: atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem æstate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta, et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui, ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis, exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere: et uno remigrante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore, ut miraculum, prævehebantur. Mox hac atque illa rapti, et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium prœlio congressi, ac sæpe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiæ venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos, vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro prædonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt: ac fuere, quos per commercia venumdatos, et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casus illustravit.

XXIX. Initio æstatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac mœrorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur præmissa classe, quæ pluribus locis prædata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnæ prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et fœderibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta millia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juventus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes; cum inter plures duces virtute

et genere præstans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem, prœlium poscentem, in hunc modum locutus fertur:—

XXX. *Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis totius Britanniæ fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullæ ultra terræ, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana: ita prœlium atque arma, quæ fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnæ, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant: quia nobilissimi totius Britanniæ, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti, nec servientium littora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famæ in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniæ patet; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa: et infestiores Romani; quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terræ, et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi: quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus* imperium; *atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt,* pacem *appellant.*

XXXI. *Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus, alibi servituri, auferuntur. Conjuges sororesque, etsi hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine* amicorum *atque* hospitum *polluuntur. Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt, annos in frumentum: corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias, conterunt. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac, sicut in fami-*

lia recentissimus quisque servorum et conservis ludibrio est; sic, in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu, novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus: et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita, sublata spe veniæ, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti, et libertatem non in præsentia laturi, primo statim congressu non ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit?

XXXII. *An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam, adesse creditis? Nostris illi discessionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundæ res tenent, ita adversæ dissolvent; nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienæ sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis: metus et terror est, infirma vincula caritatis; quæ ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriæ incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullæ Romanos conjuges accendunt; nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est: paucos numero, circum trepidos ignorantia, cælum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus: agnoscent Britanni suam causam: recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniæ, inter male parentes et injuste impe-*

rantes ægra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceteræ servientium pœnæ; quas in æternum perferre, aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde, ituri in aciem, et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres et barbari moris cantu et fremitu clamoribusque dissonis. Jamque agmina, et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies; cum Agricola, quamquam lætum et vix munimentis coercitum militem adhortatus, ita disseruit: *Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot prœliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes, seu patientia ac labore pæne adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit. Neque me militum, neque vos ducis pœnituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniæ, non fama, nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia, et subacta. Equidem sæpe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam,* Quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? *Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse æstuaria, pulchrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quæ hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia; sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitus, neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior; et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt: nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturæ fine cecidisse.*

XXXIV. *Si novæ gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra de-*

cora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis aggressos, clamore debellastis: ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal robore, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur, sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt: reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium, quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt novissimi: ideo extremo metu corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus: imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem: approbate reipublicæ nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.

XXXV. Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur: legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen æquo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola, superante hostium multitudine, veritus ne simul in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat, et *arcessendas* plerique *legiones* admonebant, promtior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur: simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere; donec

Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent: quod et ipsis vetustate militiæ exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in arcto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare, et stratis qui in æquo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem cœpere, ceteræ cohortes, æmulatione et impetu commixtæ, proximos quosque cædere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriæ relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmæ fugere, covinarii peditum se prœlio miscuere: et, quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inæqualibus locis hærebant; minimeque equestris ea pugnæ facies erat, cum ægre diu stantes, simul equorum corporibus impellerentur, ac sæpe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnæ expertes summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium cœperant; ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum; transvectæque præcepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alæ, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervæ armatorum paucioribus terga præstare, quidam inermes ultro ruere, ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus. Est aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque: postquam silvis appropinquarunt, collecti primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circum-

veniebant. Quodni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes, indaginis modo, et, sicubi arctiora erant, partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum, ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Cæsa hostium ad decem millia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus, præfectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus.

XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio prædaque læta victoribus: Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, sæpius concitari: satisque constabat, sævisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriæ latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius: quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugæ vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta jam æstate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Horestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, præfecto classis *circumvehi Britanniam* præcepit: datæ ad id vires, et præcesserat terror: ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniæ lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolæ auctum, ut Domitiano

moris erat, fronte lætus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emtis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam, tot millibus hostium cæsis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet: et cetera utcunque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in præsentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famæ et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur *triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuæ honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur*, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet: additque insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolæ destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi, consularis, et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique, libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam, codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum præcepto, ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto oceani obvium Agricolæ, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse; sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac, ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut præceptum erat, venit: exceptusque brevi osculo, et nullo sermone, turbæ servientium immixtus est. Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per

ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quærerent famam pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est: causa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela læsi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicæ tempora, quæ sileri Agricolam non sinerent; tot exercitus in Mœsia Daciaque, Germania et Pannonia, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi: tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita, cum damna damnis continuarentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola: comparantibus cunctis vigorem, constantiam, et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine reorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore, pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiæ et Africæ sortiretur; et occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolæ consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui, iturusne esset in provinciam, ultro Agricolam interrogarent: ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre: postremo non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque, pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsulari solitum offerri, et quibusdam a se ipso concessum, Agricolæ non dedit: sive offensus non

petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne, quod vetuerat, videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris: Domitiani vero natura præceps in iram, et, quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolæ leniebatur: quia non contumacia neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est, illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicæ usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitæ ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam, audita morte Agricolæ, aut lætatus est aut statim oblitus est. Augebat miserationem constans rumor, *veneno interceptum.* Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim: ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere; sive cura illud, sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die, momenta deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente, sic accelerari quæ tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque præ se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolæ, quo coheredem optimæ uxori et piissimæ filiæ Domitianum scripsit, lætatum eum velut honore judicioque: tam cæca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Caio Cæsare primum Consule Idibus Juniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quodsi habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere

velint; decentior quam sublimior fuit: nihil metus in vultu; gratia oris supererat: bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quæ in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis prædito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosæ contigerant: filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis, futura effugisse. Nam, sicuti durare in hāc beatissimi sæculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre, augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatæ mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus, non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu, rempublicam exhausit.

XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam, et clausum armis senatum, et eadem strage tot consularium cædes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Bebius jam tum reus erat. Mox nostræ duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus: nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit: præcipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat, videre et adspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret sævus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat. Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti; tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiæque, præter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget mœstitiam, quod assi-

dere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu, non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis compositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ, placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potius, et immortalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, æmulatu decoremus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiæ quoque uxorique præceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur: non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quæ marmore aut ære finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis æterna; quam tenere et exprimere, non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios et ignobiles, oblivio obruet: Agricola, posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.

NOTES.

NOTES ON THE GERMANIA.

CHAPTER I.

Germania omnis. Observe that *omnis* is here placed after *Germania*, because the emphasis falls upon the noun, and the adjective is appended to show in what sense the noun is to be taken, namely as referring to Germany Proper, called, also, *Germania Transrhenana*, to distinguish it from *Germania Cisrhenana.* (Consult Geograph. Index, *s. v.* Germani.)

Rætisque et Pannoniis. We have two conjunctions here, because the Ræti and Pannonii were more closely connected with one another than with the Galli. (Compare c. 3, 7, 28, 34.) As regards the Ræti and Pannonii, consult Geographical Index. We have written *Rætis* in the text, as more correct than *Rhætis*, just as *Rætia* is more correct than *Rhætia*, a result well established by the language of ancient inscriptions. (Consult *Drakenb. ad Liv.*, v., 33; *Oudend. ad Suet.*, *Aug.*, 21; *Niebuhr*, *Röm. Gesch.*, vol. i., p. 118; *Müller*, *Etrusk.*, vol. i., p. 162; *Orelli*, *Inscr. Lat.*, *n.* 491.)

Sarmatis Dacisque. Consult Geographical Index. The European Sarmatians here meant were the Slavonians of a more recent age.

Mutuo metu, aut montibus. "By mutual fear, or by mountains," *i. e.*, they were either separated from one another by wide intervening districts of waste land, left purposely uncultivated and desolate, in order to check the inroads of one another, or else by mountains. The mountains meant are the Carpathian and Bohemian mountains. Observe here the peculiar employment of *metu* and *montibus*, things of an entirely different nature, in connection with one another; and consult Bötticher's remarks on the style of Tacitus, appended to this volume, p. xlii.

Cetera. "The rest of the country." Supply *loca.* The reference is to the northern and western parts.

Latos sinus, et insularum, &c. "Embracing broad projections of land, and islands of vast size." Literally, "vast spaces of islands," an instance of the poetical complexion of the style of Tacitus. (Consult *Bötticher*, *Remarks*, &c., p. liv.) The Greeks and Romans looked upon that part of Europe north of Germany as composed of

islands, not as forming parts of the continent. These so-called islands, therefore, would correspond to the modern Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Sinus. Erroneously rendered by some "bays." This term is applied to any thing that makes a bend, and is most frequently used of any thing which is hollow, as a valley, a gulf; but it also means a promontory, or a neck of land, where the boundary line makes a bend or sweep, and such is its force in the present passage; and the allusion appears to be to the bold projections of the German coast along the Ocean and the Baltic, more particularly to what is now denominated *Jutland*, and to the headlands near the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe. (Compare *Passow*, *Walther*, and *Gerlach*, *ad loc.*, and *Voss*, *ad Virg.*, *Georg.*, ii., 123.

Quos bellum aperuit. "Whom war has disclosed to our view." By *bellum* is here meant a series of warlike expeditions. The knowledge which the Romans possessed of Germany and the western parts of Europe was derived principally from the expeditions of Cæsar, Drusus Germanicus, Germanicus, and Ahenobarbus. (Consult Geograph. Index, *s. v.* Germani.)

Rhenus Rœticarum Alpium, &c. The Rhine rose, according to Strabo (iv., 5) and Ptolemy (ii., 12), in Mount Adula, a name given to a collection of summits answering at the present day to a part of the Lepontine Alps. The sources of the Rhine are in this part of the Alps, a little to the east of Mount *St. Gothard*, in the country of the *Grisons*.

Modico flexu in Occidentem versus. "After having turned by a moderate bending toward the west." Observe here the middle meaning to be assigned to *versus*, and compare note on *nec obligantur*, c. 21. It is better to make *versus* a participle here, than to consider it, as some do, a preposition used pleonastically. Ernesti and Brotier, indeed, adopt this latter opinion, but without much propriety, since Tacitus nowhere else employs such a pleonasm as *in* . . . . *versus*, or *ad* . . . . *versus*. The reference in the text is to the bend of the Rhine near Arenacum, the modern *Arnheim*, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, not very far from the mouth of the stream. Bekker, Ruperti, and others erroneously suppose another bend of the Rhine to be meant, near Basilea, the modern *Basel*, or *Bâle*. (Compare *Dilthey*, *ad loc.*)

Miscetur. "Mingles itself." Observe that *miscetur* here must be regarded rather as a middle than a passive verb. (Compare note on *versus*, immediately preceding.)

Molli et clementer edito, &c. "From the easy and gently-elevated

summit of Mount Abnoba." The MSS. have *Arnobæ*, *Arlonæ*, &c The true reading is *Abnobæ*, which was first given as a conjecture by Hermolaus Barbarus, and subsequently confirmed by two inscriptions found in this quarter. Mount Abnoba answers to the northern part of the Black Forest, opposite the town of Augusta Rauracorum, now *Augst*. (Compare *Gerbert*, *Hist. S. N. T.*, iii., 1, 7; ii, 243; and *Seebode*, *N. Arch.*, 1826, vol. i., p. 153.)

Plures populos adit. On the right bank, the Vindelici, Norici, Pannonii, Illyrii, Mœsi; on the left bank, the Hermunduri, Narisci, Marcomanni, Quadi, Daci, Getæ, and Bastarnæ. (*Dilthey, ad loc.*)

Sex meatibus. "By six channels." The number of mouths appertaining to this stream is differently given by the ancient writers. Herodotus (iv., 7), Dionysius Periegetes, Arrian, Claudian, Eustathius, and others name five. Pliny (*H. N.*, iv., 24) and some other authorities give six. Strabo, Ovid, Mela, Solinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus make seven. Tacitus appears to unite the two latter accounts. At the present day the Danube enters the sea by seven mouths.

Erumpat. A better reading than *erumpit*, and sanctioned by the best MSS. Passow makes a singular error, when he asserts, in his comments on the present passage, and in defence of *erumpit*, that *donec* with the subjunctive is contrary to the practice of Tacitus. The true distinction appears to be this: *donec* with the indicative refers to an actual fact, or a thing that is now actually taking place; but *donec* with the subjunctive indicates something that is to be realized, but has not yet actually occurred. (Compare *Walther*, *ad Ann.*, ii., 6.)

CHAPTER II.

Ipsos Germanos, &c. "The Germans themselves I, for my part, believe to be an indigenous race." The pronoun *ipsos* here marks the transition from the subject of the country to that of the people dwelling therein. Observe, moreover, that the perfect subjunctive is here employed to soften an assertion, investing it with an air of modest reserve. (*Zumpt*, § 527.)—*Indigenas*. Equivalent to the Greek *αὐτόχθονας*. This belief in the indigenous origin of different races was very common among the Greeks and Romans, though now deservedly rejected. The ancestors of the German race migrated by land from Asia, and form one of the links in the Indo-European chain of nations. (Compare Geograph. Index, *s. v.* Germania.)

Minimeque aliarum gentium, &c. "And by no means mixed up through immigrations of other communities and the visits of strangers," *i. e.*, free from all intermixture with foreigners, either as settlers or casual visitants. Observe here the employment of abstract nouns (*adventibus*, *hospitiis*) in the plural, to express the recurrence of an act, or its taking place on several occasions. This usage is very frequent in Tacitus. (Compare *Roth, ad Agric.*, § 4, p. 111, *seq.*; *Voss.*, *Aristarch.*, iii., 40, and *Förtsch.*, *ad loc.*)

Nec .... et. Equivalent to *et non .... et.* This is of frequent occurrence. So *neque .... et* (*Annal.*, ii., 51; xv., 28), and *neque .... ac* (*Agric.*, 10). So in Greek we have οὔτε .... τέ, and μήτε .... τέ. (Compare *Kühner*, § 775, 3, *a.*)

Advehebantur. "Were carried to their places of destination." Observe that *advehi* properly refers to transportation in ships; here, however, it is made to apply also to movements by land. Compare *Walther*, *ad Ann.*, ii., 20.

Utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus. "And, so to express myself, up-hill Ocean." The ancients had a notion that this part of the world was higher than the rest; so that, in sailing to it, they had to go as it were *up-hill.* Compare *Hist.*, ii., 98; and *Pliny*, *H. N.*, ii., 70: "*In alia adverso, in alia prono mari.*" Tacitus prefixes the words *utque sic dixerim* as a kind of apology for the employment here of so unusual an epithet, and this alone would show that the ordinary meaning of *adversus*, namely, "hostile," or "opposing," can not be intended in the present case.

Ab orbe nostro. "From our part of the world." The allusion is to the countries around the Mediterranean, and forming part of the Roman empire. Hence, immediately after, when Asia and Africa are mentioned, we must suppose Asia Minor and Northern Africa to be meant, the fertility of which regions is praised by many of the ancient writers. (Compare *Cic.*, *pro Leg. Man.*, 6; *Tac.*, *Agric.*, 6; *Plin.*, *H. N.*, xxxvii., 13; *Virg.*, *Georg.*, ii., 136, *seqq.*)

Informem terris, &c. "Rugged in surface, rigorous in climate, cheerless (alike) to be cultivated and to be beheld," *i. e.*, cheerless alike to the cultivator and the mere beholder. No writer uses the supine more frequently than Tacitus, both in the accusative and ablative, for the sake of brevity. (Compare *Bötticher*, *Remarks*, &c., p. xli.

Nisi si patria sit. "Unless, if (chance so will it) it be his native land," *i. e.*, unless, perchance, it be, &c. Observe, that in the form of expression *nisi si*, which frequently occurs, the conjunction *si* is used elliptically, and the ellipsis must be supplied, in each case,

according to the nature of the context. The phrase is employed to denote mere possibility, without any definite assertion. (Compare *Walther, ad Ann.*, ii., 63; *Hand, ad Tursell.*, vol. iv., p. 239.)

Tuisconem deum. It was customary with almost all ancient communities, in their national songs, to trace their pedigree to some god or deified hero. The name *Tuisco* is very probably connected with that of *Teutones*, which occurs in various forms; as *Theutisci, Theotisci, Tuitschi*, and, in the old dialects of Germany, Teut, Tuit, Thiuda; in the Belgic, *Duitsche, Duiske.* (Compare *Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. Einleit.*, p. 13, *seq.*; and consult Geograph. Index, *s. v.* Teutones.)

Mannum. Mannus, the son of Tuisco, is merely a personification of the German man (*mann*), or race, and the three sons of Mannus are the three main geographical divisions of this race.

Ingævones. The Ingævones, who are here described as dwelling on the Ocean, are "the inhabitants of the *inner* coasts," *i. e.*, the *Inbewohner*; and, in like manner, the Istævones, whom Pliny (*H. N.*, iv., 14) speaks of as being "*proximi Rheno*," are "the inhabitants of the *western* parts," *i. e.*, the *Westbewohner.* If this etymology be correct, the penults of both names ought to be regarded as long. (Compare *Mannert, Geogr.*, vol. iii., p. 145, *seqq.*) As regards the appellation *Herminones*, it is probable that it contains the root of the national name *Germani*, namely, *Herm-*, or *Gherm-* (*i. e.*, *Hermin*-ones, *Gherman*-ones), if we suppose, as many now do, that this name is of Oriental origin. (Compare the remarks of *Von Hammer, Wien. Jahrb.*, vol. ii., p. 319; and vol. ix., p. 39.) According to this explanation, the Herminones will be the main or parent stem occupying the central parts of the country. A less correct reading is *Hermiones.*

Licentia vetustatis. "Through the (usual) license of antiquity," *i. e.*, availing themselves of the license which so remote a period affords for hazarding bold speculations.

Plures deo ortos. With *deo* supply *illo*, the reference being to Tuisco.—*Marsos, Gambrivios*, &c. (Consult Geographical Index.) The MSS. vary with regard to the name *Gambrivios.* The true reading probably is *Marsos, Sigambros.* (Consult *Walther, ad loc.*)

Ceterum Germaniæ vocabulum, &c. "That the name of 'Germany,' however, is of ancient origin, and lately added," *i. e.*, is a comparatively modern addition. According to the account here cited by Tacitus, the name *Germani* is the Latinized form of the appellation assumed by the Tungri, the first German tribe that crossed the Rhine; and they gave themselves this name in order to strike

terror into their Gallic opponents. Various etymologies have been given of the term, but all more or less unsatisfactory. The one most commonly received derives the name in question from the old German word *Werr*, "war," and *Mann*, "a man," so that *Germani* (*i. e.*, Werrmänner) will signify "war-men," or "warriors," the Roman alphabet, in consequence of its not having any *w*, converting this letter into a *g*. Compare, however, the remarks of *Graff*, *Althochd. Sprachsch.*, vol. iv., *col.* 260, *seq.*; and consult Geograph. Index, where other etymologies, and especially the Oriental one, are given.

Quoniam qui primi Rhenum, &c. "Since they who, having first crossed the Rhine, drove out the Gauls, and are now called Tungri, were then called Germani," *i. e.*, called themselves Germani. After *Tungri* supply *vocentur*. Observe, moreover, the employment of the subjunctive in this and the succeeding sentence, because the writer is giving the assertion of others, not his own sentiments. (*Zumpt*, § 545.)—*Ita nationis nomen*, &c. "So widely (they affirm) did the name of a particular tribe, not of the whole race, by degrees extend itself, that all called themselves Germani, by an appellation assumed in the first instance by the conquering tribe, in order to inspire terror, (and) subsequently adopted by themselves." Observe here the zeugma in *invento*. The Bipont edition, with that of Oberlinus, &c., has *ita nationis nomen in nomen gentis*, while others for *non gentis* read *in gentis*, the conjecture of Acidalius. The reading which we have adopted, however, is that of all the MSS. and early editions.

CHAPTER III.

Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant. "They relate that there was a Hercules also among them." By Hercules is merely meant a mythic personification of valor and manliness. In this sense almost every ancient nation had its Hercules.—*Memorant.* The reference is not to the Germans speaking of themselves, as the words *apud eos* plainly show, but to the account given of them by others. —*Primum.* "As the first," *i. e.*, the most pre-eminent. Equivalent to *principem*.

Quorum relatu. "By the chanting of which." More literally, "by the recital of which." Tacitus purposely employs the term *relatu* here, to indicate that the *carmina* were actual narratives of illustrious exploits.—*Quem baritum vocant.* "Which they call *baritus*." This term is supposed to be formed from the old German

baren, "to shout," *-itus* being a mere Latin ending. (*Adelung*, *Gesch. Alt. Deutschl.*, p. 388.) Another, but erroneous form of the word, is *barritus*, retained in the Glossary of *Ducange*, *ed. Henschel*, p. 607, but very properly condemned by Freund (*Wörterb.*, *s. v.*) This last-mentioned writer, moreover, is of opinion that Tacitus here erroneously gives the name of the war-cry for that of the war-song. Several MSS. and editions read *barditum*, but there is no authority to show that bards, as such, existed among the Germans. They formed rather a Celtic caste or order. (Compare *Veget.*, iii., 18; *Amm. Marcell.*, xvi., 30; xxvi., 7.)

Terrent enim trepidantve, &c. "For they cause terror, or tremble themselves with alarm, according as the line of battle has sounded forth (the strain)." Passow places a comma after *sonuit*, and makes *acies* the nominative plural, and the subject of *terrent* and *trepidant.* But the construction *sonuit acies* is confirmed by *Hist.*, iv., 18, "*ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies.*"—*Nec tam vocis ille, quam virtutis*, &c. "Nor does that appear so much a chorus of human voices as the combined cry of valor itself." The meaning is, that a person, on hearing this martial strain, would think he heard, not a chorus of human voices, but the valor that animates the bosom of each, expressing itself in one combined and prolonged cry. (*Walther*, *ad loc.*)

Fractum murmur. "A broken roar." The term *murmur* is not unfrequently employed to denote a low, sullen roar, like that of the sea, thunder, an earthquake, &c. (Compare *Freund*, *Wörterb.*, *s. v.*) —*Quo plenior et gravior*, &c. "In order that the voice may swell forth fuller and more sonorous, in consequence of the repercussion."

Quidam opinantur, &c. Among these, Strabo (iii., p. 149) contends that Ulysses advanced beyond Tartessus, and founded 'Οδύσσεια ("Olisippo," *Lisbon*), and Solinus (c. 26, 36) makes him touch at Britain. Still more extravagant are the speculations of some modern writers, who find a resemblance between the Ulyssean appellation *Utis* and that of *Odin!* (Compare *Dilthey*, *ad loc.*)—*Longo illo et fabuloso errore.* "During those long and much-fabled wanderings of his." Observe that *fabuloso* is here equivalent to "*in fabulis celebrato.*" The allusion is to the Homeric and post-Homeric legends respecting the wanderings of Ulysses on his return from Troy.

Asciburgium. Mannert, following Ptolemy, makes this place to have been situate on the right bank of the Rhine, where the canal of Drusus joined the Yssel, and where the modern *Dösburg* lies. It seems more correct, however, to make it correspond to *Asburg*, or the neighboring hamlet of *Essenberg*, on the left bank of the river,

as Cluver, Reichard, and Wilhelm (p. 114, 154) have done. The name Asciburgium is derived by some from the old German term *ask*, "a vessel," "a ship," and *berg* or *burg*, whence it is supposed to be equivalent to *Schiffburg*. (Compare the Anglo-Saxon *äsc*, and the old Northern *ascho*, and consult *Rühs*, p. 141, and *Graff*, *Althochd. Sprachsch.*, vol. i., *col.* 492.) Others, however, connect the name Asciburgium with the legend of Odin and the *Asi*.

Nominatumque. After this word is found in most MSS. and early editions a Greek name more or less corrupted, namely, 'Ἀστυτεάγιον, or 'Ἀστυπύργιον, or 'Ἀσκιπύργιον, &c. It is evidently a mere interpolation. Consult *Gerlach, ad loc.*—*Ulixi consecratam.* "Consecrated by Ulysses." Observe that *Ulixi* is here the dative, by a Hellenism, for *ab Ulixe*. (Compare *Vechner*, *Hellenolex.*, p. 322, *ed. Heusing.*) Some regard *Ulixi* as the regular dative, and translate "consecrated *to* Ulysses;" this, however, would be entirely at variance with the custom of the northern nations. (*Gerlach, ad loc.*)—*Adjecto Laertæ patris nomine.* The meaning is, that on the pretended altar, after the name of Ulysses, was inscribed "Son of Laertes," according to the Grecian custom, and in order that no doubt might exist with regard to the erector.

Græcis litteris inscriptos. This, like the story about the altar, must be regarded as a mere fable. We find, however, the Gauls acquainted with Grecian characters, which they seem to have learned from the Phocæans who colonized Massilia. (Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 29; v., 48; vi., 14.)

Ex ingenio suo quisque, &c. "Let each one refuse or give credit thereto, according to his turn of mind." Literally, "take away or add credence."—*Ex ingenio.* If credulous, let him believe the story; if skeptical, let him withhold his assent.

CHAPTER IV.

Infectos. "Changed." The verbs *inficere*, *vitiare*, *corrumpere*, like μιαίνειν, μολύνειν, φθείρειν, &c., do not always imply a change for the worse, but often a mere blending, or an alteration of the primitive state of any thing. (*Passow, ad loc.*)—*Propriam et sinceram*, &c. "Have ever existed as a peculiar and unmixed race, and like only unto themselves." The adjective *similis* takes the genitive when an internal resemblance, or a resemblance in character and disposition, is to be expressed, but the dative when it is merely an external one. (*Zumpt*, § 411.)

Habitus corporum. "The conformation of their frames," *i. e.*,

their physical characteristics.—*Truces et cærulei oculi.* "Eyes fierce of expression and of a light blue color." It is principally in Hesse, Westphalia, Pomerania, Hanover, Thuringia, and Bavaria, that we find traces at the present day of the physical characteristics which Tacitus here ascribes to the ancient German race. On the other hand, the communities that inhabit Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, a part of Upper Saxony, and Austria, display in their physical conformation the marks of a blending with the Slavonic race.—*Rutilæ comæ.* "Ruddy locks," *i. e.*, of a yellowish red, or flame-colored. The Germans and Gauls frequently used artificial means to make their hair of a ruddy or flame color. (Compare *Hist.*, iv., 61, and *Strabo*, vii., p. 290.)

Magna corpora. The large stature of the ancient Germans is frequently referred to by the ancient writers. Compare, also, chapter xx. of the present treatise.—*Et tantum ad impetum valida.* "And powerful only for the first onset," *i. e.*, the first shock of the conflict. (Compare *Seneca, de Ira*, i., 11: "*Germanis quid est animosius? quid ad incursum acrius?*")—*Laboris atque operum non eadem patientia.* "There is not the same patient endurance of labor and prolonged exertions." Some commentators regard *laboris atque operum* as a hendiadys, but incorrectly, since the form of expression is purposely employed here to impart more force to the clause.

Cœlo solove. The particles *ve* and *vel* have always a disjunctive force. Here *cœlo* is to be referred to *frigora*, and *solo* to *inediam*, which could not be the case if *ve* were equivalent to *que*. Translate, "Cold and hunger they are accustomed to endure by their climate and soil." (Compare *Passow, ad loc.*)

CHAPTER V.

Etsi aliquanto specie differt. "Although it varies considerably in aspect." Literally, "although it differs (from itself)." Observe that *differo* is here used absolutely. With regard to *aliquanto*, it may be remarked, that *aliquanto*, *aliquantum*, and the other compounds of *ali*, which refer to number or space, almost invariably imply greatness of some kind. (*Ernesti, ad Suet. Cæs.*, 86.)—*In universum tamen*, &c. "In general, however, is either rough with forests or deformed by marshes." Tacitus does not appear to have known much of the interior of Germany; although, it is true, numerous forests were scattered over it, as the *Silva Hercynia, Marciana, Gabreta, Luna, Teutobergiensis*, &c., traces of many of which still remain. The marshes, of which he here speaks, refer principally to the coun-

try of East Friesland, the coast of the German Ocean at the mouth of the Ems and Weser, and to some parts of Westphalia and Lower Saxony. These morasses are owing, in many cases, to the forests, which hinder the drainage. (Compare the remarks of *Wilhelm* in Kruse's *Deutsche Alterthümer*, ii., 6, p. 63.)

Humidior, qua Gallias. "Moister where it faces the Gauls." Supply *adspicit.* The western part of Germany is meant, but more particularly the territories of the Batavi and Frisii, now *Holland, Friesland*, &c. The greater degree of humidity is owing to the forests, rivers, lakes, and marshes in this quarter.—*Ventosior, qua Noricum et Pannoniam*, &c. "More bleak where it looks toward Noricum and Pannonia." Ancient Noricum and Pannonia comprehended what is now Austria, Styria, Carinthia, part of Hungary, &c., so that the portion of Germany here meant will be the southern and eastern parts. It is more elevated and mountainous than the other parts of the country, and hence more exposed to the winds.

Satis ferax. "Productive for grain," *i. e.*, for things sown in it. Observe that *satis* is here the dative plural of *satus*, and not the adverb, as some maintain. Observe, moreover, the difference of meaning between *satorum ferax* and *satis ferax;* the former (which is the more usual construction of *ferax*) means, "productive in grain," *i. e.*, producing it in abundance; but the latter, "productive for grain," *i. e.*, well fitted to produce it. (*Walther, ad loc.*) Cæsar speaks of the fertility of the country around the Hercynian Forest (*B. G.*, vi., 24); Commodus laid the Marcomanni under a tribute of corn (*Dio Cass.*, xxii., 3); the cultivation of oats is mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.*, xviii., 44; compare xix., 26, 28, 42); and Tacitus himself speaks of barley (c. 23).

Frugiferarum arborum patiens. "Kindly to fruit trees." The ordinary text has *impatiens*, "unkindly," but this can not be correct, since the contrary is asserted by Dio Cassius (xlix., 36), Strabo (iv., 6, 8; vii., 5, 11), Pliny (*H. N.*, xii., 3), and Tacitus himself (c. 10, 23, 26.) In the common reading the *im* might very easily have arisen from the *m* preceding. We have adopted, therefore, *patiens*, the conjecture of some editors. (Compare the remarks of *Wilhelm*, p. 65, *note.*)—*Sed plerumque inprocera.* "But these, for the most part, (are) small of size." The epithet *inprocera* is generally supposed to be applied here, by a bold figure of speech, to the land itself (*terra*), instead of the flocks (*pecora*); and Wolf (*ad Ann.*, i., 10), Passow, Hess, and others, have attempted to confirm this view by citing what they consider to be analogous passages in our author (*Hist.*, i., 49, 88; iii., 56; *Ann.*, xv., 23, &c.). These passages,

however, do not apply to the present case; and it is better, therefore, to make *inprocera* a neuter plural, as referring to *pecora*, with an ellipsis of the copula *sunt*, so that the construction will be *sed inprocera* (*illa sunt*). This will save the necessity of our adopting, with Bredow and Weikert, the conjectural reading of Lipsius, namely, *pleraque*. (Compare *Jacobs*, and *Dilthey*, *ad loc.*)

Ne armentis quidem suus honor, &c. "Not even the herds have their usual stateliness, or dignity of brow," *i. e.*, not even the cattle are as large as those in other lands, or supplied with horns of as large and imposing a size. Tacitus means that the animals are stunted by the severity of the climate. This, however, is an error. Some of the quadrupeds of ancient Germany, the Urus (*Aucrochs*), for example, were remarkable for their size. The smallness of the cattle must have been owing rather to want of care in feeding them, in protecting them from the ordinary inclemencies of winter, and in improving the breed by mixtures.

Propitii an irati dii negaverint, &c. Observe the quaintness and brevity of the expression. The meaning is this: in Germany the precious metals do not occur; whether, however, the want of these be an advantage or an evil, I leave for others to determine.—*Nec tamen adfirmaverim*, &c. It is now well known that Germany abounds in these veins. The first was discovered in the reign of Otho I.

Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. "They are not affected by the possession and use (of these) in the same way (as other nations)," *i. e.*, they do not desire the possession and use of them like other nations. We must supply in sense *ac aliæ nationes* after *haud perinde*. On *perinde* and *proinde* (which latter form some editors adopt here), consult *Zumpt*, § 282, but more particularly *Hand*, *ad Tursell.*, vol. iv., p. 451. Some grammarians make *haud perinde* here and elsewhere equivalent to *haud magnopere*; incorrectly, however, since there is always in these words a latent comparison. Boetticher falls into this error in his Lexicon to Tacitus. (Compare *Ruhnken*, *Præf. ad Schell. Lex.*, p. 517, *ed Friedem.*—*Roth*, *ad Tacit.*, *Agric.*, 10.—*Duker*, *ad Liv.*, xxiii., 21.—*Hand*, *ad Tursell.*, vol. iv., p. 462.)

Est videre apud illos, &c. "One may see among them silver vessels held in no higher estimation than those which are formed of earth." Literally, "in no other cheapness." Observe here the employment of *est* in the sense of *licet* (*Zumpt*, § 227), and compare the corresponding Greek usage of ἔστι for ἔξεστι.—*Quamquam proximi, ob usum commerciorum*, &c. "Although those in our immediate

vicinity do hold gold and silver in estimation for convenience in traffic," *i. e.*, set a value on gold and silver for the purposes of trade.—*Agnoscunt atque eligunt.* "Learn to know, and give the preference to." Literally, "recognize (*i. e.*, distinguish) and pick out."

Veterem et diu notam. The later silver money had been adulterated. (*Plin.*, *H. N.*, xxxiii., 3, 9.)—*Serratos bigatosque.* "Those pieces, namely, that are notched at the edge, and those that bear the impress of a two-horse chariot." Supply *nummos.* The preference of the Germans to certain forms of Roman money was founded on their apprehension of being cheated with false coin. The notched pieces would be a preventive against this, since they had their edges cut like the teeth of a saw (*serra*), by which means it could be seen whether the metal was the same quite through, or was only plated. The pieces termed *bigati* were, on the other hand, old coin of purer silver than the adulterated currency of the day. The Germans, probably, had learned to notch the Roman money in order to satisfy themselves that it was genuine, and so, in process of time, the Romans were induced to mint denarii in that manner for their use. Cautious, however, as they were, they found, in the lapse of time, that they were deceived by the reliance which they had placed on their favorite and rude criterion. The Roman forgers passed off upon them denarii of plated copper provided with the proper indentations, and *serrati* of this description are still remaining. (*Cardwell*, *Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 160.)

Sequuntur. "They seek after." (Compare *Cic.*, *de Off.*, i., 37; *Cæs.*, *B. C.*, i., 1, 3.)—*Nulla adfectione animi*, &c. "From no predilection (for that metal), but because the counting of silver pieces is more convenient for them, carrying on, as they do, a promiscuous and petty traffic." Observe that *numerus* is here equivalent to *numeratio*, and that after *argenteorum* we must supply *nummorum.*

CHAPTER VI.

Superest. "Abounds." Literally, "is over and above (their actual wants)." Compare *Hist.*, i., 51, 83; *Agric.*, 45. *Superare* is used in the same sense.—*Sicut ex genere telorum conligitur.* "As may be inferred from the nature of their weapons."—*Frameas.* The term *framea* is *fram* Latinized, and the modern German word *Pfriem*, "an awl," appears to have some affinity to it. The etymology assigned by Isidorus is absurd: *Framea autem dicta, quod ferrea est: nam sicut ferramentum, sic Framea dicitur, ac proinde omnis gladius*

framea. (*Isid.*, *Orig.*, xviii., 6.) Klemm makes mention of three kinds of *frameæ*, and gives drawings of each. (*Germ. Alterthumsk.*, p. 242.)—*Ad usum habili.* "Convenient for use," *i. e.*, manageable. —*Prout ratio poscit.* "As occasion requires." Observe that *ratio* is here equivalent to *rei conditio*, *i. e.*, "nature of the case," or "occasion."

Atque in immensum vibrant, &c. "And hurl them to an immense distance, being either naked, or lightly covered with a small cloak." There should be no full stop after *vibrant*; they used this light dress that they might have greater freedom of movement.—*Nulla cultus jactatio.* "They have no pride in personal appearance," *i. e.*, either as regards attire or arms. Tacitus here, and in similar instances, uses the abstract noun. The writers of the Augustan age would employ the verb.—*Lectissimis coloribus.* "With the choicest colors." This decoration at first denoted the valor, afterward the nobility of the bearer, and in process of time gave origin to the armorial ensigns so famous in the ages of chivalry. The shields of the private men were simply colored; those of the chieftains had also the figures of animals painted upon them. (*Aikin, ad loc.* Compare *Eichhorn, Staats-, und Rechtsgesch.*, i., p. 341.)—*Vix uni alterive cassis aut galea.* "Hardly one or two, a casque or a helmet." By *cassis*, strictly speaking, is meant a head-piece which has a metallic basis; by *galea*, on the other hand, one that is made of skin or leather. This distinction, however, is not always observed, though it is intended to be so in the present instance. (Compare *Isidor.*, *Orig.*, xviii., 14.)

Forma. "For beauty." Equivalent here to *formositate.* The inferiority of the German horses in appearance and speed, especially the latter, arose probably from their being reared, not in open plains, of which there were but few, but in places more or less covered with forests.—*Sed nec variare gyros*, &c. "Nor are they even taught to practice the various changes of the ring, after our fashion." Literally, "to vary circular movements." The reference is to the various evolutions and changes of the ring as practiced by the Romans in the training of their steeds. The object was, by dint of frequent wheelings, to render the horse perfectly obedient to the rein. (Compare *Virg.*, *Georg.*, iii., 191, where the Roman mode of training is alluded to.)—*Nec.* Observe that this particle is equivalent here to *ne quidem*, and compare the remarks of *Hand, ad Tursell.*, iv., p. 105.

In rectum, aut uno flexu dextros agunt, &c. "They urge them straight onward, or else by one continued turning toward the right,

in so close a circle that no one is behind the rest." Observe that *dextros* is here equivalent to *dextrorsus*. The meaning of this passage has been often misunderstood, from its being supposed to refer to military tactics and the evolutions of the battle-field. That cavalry, however, should always wheel to the right is, as has justly been remarked, utterly inconceivable, since in some positions this would make them present their rear, instead of their front, to the enemy. The truth is, Tacitus is merely alluding to the German mode of *training steeds*, as contrasted with that of the Romans. The latter, as he has just informed us, practiced various changes of the ring, or, in other words, made the steed perform a variety of complicated movements, in order to render him, by dint of numerous turnings both to the right and left, more obedient to the rein; the Germans, on the other hand, had only two modes of proceeding, namely, either to ride straight onward, or else to move round in one continued ring, by a constant turning of the horse toward the right. And this movement was practiced by a number of riders at one and the same time, and who followed one another so closely that the ring or circle which they formed may be said to have had neither beginning nor end, and hence no one was behind the rest. (Compare *Gerlach, ad loc.*)

Plus penes peditem roboris. The German cavalry, however, were generally superior to the Roman in their encounters. (Compare *Cæs., B. G.*, iv., 12, where eight hundred German horse are said to have put to flight a body of Roman cavalry to the number of five thousand.)—*Eoque mixti prœliantur.* A very graphic description of this mode of fighting is given by Cæsar. (*B. G.*, i., 48.) It was adopted by Cæsar himself at the battle of Pharsalia. (*B. C.*, iii., 75.)—*Apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam*, &c. "The agility of their infantry being well adapted for, and fitly uniting with an equestrian conflict." We must be careful not to regard *apta* and *congruente* here as mere synonymous terms. The latter, in fact, strengthens and amplifies the signification of the former.

Centeni ex singulis pagis sunt. "There are a hundred from each canton." Compare chapter xii., where other *centeni* are mentioned, having reference to civil affairs. The division by hundreds appears, in fact, to have been a very widely spread one, and to pervade the whole of Teutonic and Scandinavian antiquity. (*Grote, Hist. of Greece*, iii., p. 74, *note.*)—*Id ipsum.* "By this very name," *i. e.*, the Hundreders, or a Hundreder, of such a canton. Literally, "they are called this very thing."—*Nomen et honor.* "An appellation, and a source of distinction." Grammatically speaking, a hen-

diadys; but, in reality, far more expressive than the usual form of speech would have been.

Cuneos. The term *cuneus* was applied to a body of foot soldiers drawn up in the form of a wedge, for the purpose of breaking through an enemy's line. The common soldiers among the Romans called it a *caput porcinum*, or "pig's head." Hence, Agathias (*de Imp. Just.*, ii., p. 40), in speaking of the wedge-order as adopted by the Franks against Narses, remarks, *φαίης τε ἂν αὐτοὺς συὸς κεφαλὴν τῇ συνθέσει ἀποτυπώσασθαι.*

Consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. "They consider a mark rather of prudence than of fear," *i. e.*, a prudent stratagem rather than an act of cowardice. The ellipsis of *magis* here, like that of *μᾶλλον* in Greek, is so common in its occurrence as to need no examples.—*Scutum reliquisse præcipuum flagitium.* "To have abandoned one's shield is a prime disgrace." Compare Horace, *Od*, ii., 7, 10; and the well-known injunctions of the Spartan women, when presenting their sons with their shields, Ἢ *τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς*, and Τ*αύτην ὁ πατήρ σοι ἀεὶ ἔσωζε, καὶ σὺ οὖν ταύτην σῶζε, ἢ μὴ ἔσο.*

Ignominioso. "For one thus branded with ignominy." Compare, as regards the punishment of the *ignavi* and *imbelles*, what is mentioned in chapter xii.—*Multique superstites bellorum*, &c. "And many (such) survivors of wars have put an end to their infamy by the halter."

CHAPTER VII.

Ex nobilitate. "On account of nobility of birth," *i. e.*, splendor of descent. Observe here the force of *ex*, which is nearly similar to that of *propter* or *secundum*. Compare "*Distinctio pœnarum ex delicto*" (c. 12); *ex modo virium* (c. 34), and consult *Bötticher*, *Lex. Tacit.*, p. 166.—*Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas.* For an account of the prerogatives and powers of the early German kings, consult *Klemm*, *Germ. Alterthumsk.*, p. 204, *seqq.* Some of the north-eastern tribes appear, however, to have been ruled over more despotically. Compare, also, what is said by our author of the Suiones and Sitones, in chapters xliv. and xlv. As regards the distinction between the offices of *rex* and *dux*, it may be remarked, that at the period of the great migration of the northern nations these two appear to have been united into one. (*Klemm*, *l. c.*)

Et duces exemplo, &c. "And their leaders (are so) through the force of example, rather than from any exercise of authority," *i. e.*, they command less through the force of authority than of example.

—*Admiratione præsunt.* "They take the lead by reason of the admiration which they inspire."—*Animadvertere.* "To put to death." This verb commonly means "to punish" simply; here, however, it is to be taken in a stronger sense, as in *Hist.*, i., 46, and iv., 49, and we may supply *gladio* or something similar. Tacitus, it will be perceived, is descending from heavier to lighter punishments.—*Vincire.* Bonds would be something yet more offensive to freemen than stripes.—*Nisi sacerdotibus permissum.* The statement of Tacitus is at variance with that of Cæsar, who remarks (*B. G.*, vi., 23), "*Quum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello præsint, ut vitæ necisque habeant potestatem deliguntur.*" Lipsius seeks to reconcile these two authorities by supposing that Tacitus refers to a state of peace, but Cæsar to one of war. He is plainly contradicted, however, by what follows.

Non quasi in pœnam, &c. What was thus inflicted by the priests was not regarded in the light of a mere judicial sentence, nor as emanating from the *dux*, or military leader, but as something coming from on high.—*Sed velut deo imperante*, &c. The god *Thor*, the German Mars, is meant. (Compare chapter ix.)

Effigiesque et signa quædam, &c. "(On this account), moreover, they carry to battle effigies (of animals), and certain standards taken down from their (sacred) groves," *i. e.*, in consequence of this belief that the god is present in the battle-field, they bear to battle the effigies of animals answering the purposes of standards, which, from the circumstance of their having been preserved in sacred groves, will, it is conceived, propitiate the favor of the divinity, and induce him to be on their side. With *effigies*, supply *ferarum*, an ellipsis supplied elsewhere by Tacitus himself, *Hist.*, iv., 22: "*Depromtæ silvis lucisque ferarum imagines.*" The expression *effigies et signa quædam*, moreover, means nothing more than "effigies forming or answering the purpose of a kind of standards," the conjunction *et* being here merely explanatory, and the standards referred to being like those represented on the columns of Trajan and Antoninus, namely, the figure of an animal at the top of a pole. (*Dilthey, ad loc.—Gerlach, ad loc.—Klemm, Germ. Alterthumsk.*, p. 231.)

Turmam aut cuneum. "The troop of horse, or the wedge of foot." Among the Romans a *turma* contained thirty men; here, however, the word is used in a general sense.—*Familiæ et propinquitates.* "Families and kindreds." Eichhorn appears to be in error when he thinks that these bore more analogy to the Roman gentes than to relationship of blood or wedlock. (*Staats und Rechts Gesch.*, i., p. 84.)—*Et in proximo pignora.* "And close by are the (dearest

pledges (of affection)." The allusion is to their mothers, wives, and children, who were accustomed to go out with them to war, and remained by and acted as a sort of guard for the wagons. (Compare chap. viii., and *Hist.*, iv., 18.) With *proximo* supply *loco.*—*Sanctissimi testes.* "The most revered witnesses (of his bearing in the fight)."

Exigere. "To compare and examine minutely." The force of this term here is well explained by Gronovius : "*taxare et dignoscere ; expendere et comparare inter se vulnera, cum laude ejus, qui majora et honestiora tulerit.*" Rhenanus conjectured *exsugere*, "to suck," which the Bipont edition adopts ; but the present reading is far more spirited.—*Cibosque et hortamina.* "Both food and encouragement." Two different things connected with one verb *gestare.* Compare chap. i. : "*Mutuo metu aut montibus separatur.*"

CHAPTER VIII.

Quasdam acies, inclinatas jam, &c. "That some armies, already giving way and ready to flee, have been rallied by the women." Literally, "have been restored."—*Objectu pectorum.* "By presenting unto them their breasts," *i. e.*, by presenting their breasts unto their husbands and brothers, and begging death at their hands rather than captivity. (Compare *Dilthey, ad loc.*) Tacitus very often employs verbal nouns of the fourth declension, and in the ablative case, in the place of participles.

Nomine. "On account of." (Compare *Hist.*, i., 29 : "*Non quia meo nomine paveam,*" and consult *Bötticher, Lex. Tac., s. v.*)—*Efficacius obligentur.*" "Are more effectually bound (to obedience)."—*Puellæ quoque nobiles imperantur.* Heinsius and Huet, without any necessity, conjecture *nubiles.* As regards the fact itself here referred to, we may compare Suetonius (*Aug.*, 21) : "*A quibusdam novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere tentavit,*" &c.—*Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid,* &c. "Nay, they even think that there is something sacred and prescient in (the female sex)." Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 50 ; *Plut.*, *de Virt. Mul.*, ii., p. 246 ; *Ann.*, xiv., 29.

Vidimus. It would be a great error, as Dilthey remarks, to infer from this expression that Tacitus had himself been in Germany.—*Veledam.* Statius (*Silv.*, i., 4, 89) gives the penult of this word short, "*Captivæque preces Velĕdæ,*" &c. While Dio Cassius, on the other hand (lxvii., 5), writes it in Greek with the long quantity, namely, Βελήδαν. The former appears more correct. Veleda was a female of the Bructeri, and had much to do with the project of

Civilis to drive the Romans from Gaul. Her influence was very great among all classes of the Germans, and she contributed by her predictions to some of their most brilliant successes. She was surrendered to the Romans, however, by her own countrymen, perhaps by Civilis himself, and Statius (*l. c.*) alludes to her captivity. She is said to have dwelt in a tower, according to some in a cave, at a place now called *Spillenberg*, on the right bank of the Luppia or *Lippe*. Various explanations have been given of the name, some of which may be seen in Ryckius, *ad Tac.*, *Hist.*, iv., 61, p. 444. Dilthey makes it signify "a female inhabitant of the forest" (*Waldbewohnerin*); and Gräter (*Idunna*, 1816, *N.* 6) derives it from *Wäle Hulda*, *i. e.*, the Witch Hulda, of whom there are traditions even at the present day in the popular superstitions of Thuringia.

Auriniam. Tacitus, in all probability, has given us here, by mistake, a common instead of a proper name. The northern nations gave the name *Alrunen* to women of this kind, which some derive from *all*, and *runa*, "a mystery" or "secret," on account of their being supposed to be omniscient. (*Dilthey*, *ad loc.*) Hence, in all likelihood, the conjecture of Lipsius, namely, *Aluriniam*, of which Seebode approves, presents us with the true reading here. Jornandes, moreover (*Goth.*, c. 24), speaks of the German women called *Aliorunæ*, a term equivalent, as he informs us, to "*magæ mulieres*."

Complures alias. Among these may be named *Ganna*, who succeeded *Veleda*, and was held in equally high veneration. She accompanied Masyus, king of the Semnones, to Rome in the time of Domitian, and was very honorably received. (*Dio Cass*, lxvii., 5.) *Non adulatione, nec tamquam*, &c. "Not, (however), with a spirit of servile adulation, nor as if they would make them divinities," *i. e.*, not, however, with that spirit of adulation which would raise mortals to deities. A sarcastic allusion to the usages of his own countrymen in the case of their emperors, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. Scarcely any thing is known about the religion of the ancient Germans. The few notices we have respecting it are chiefly in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, who did not understand their language, and, with very few exceptions, had never visited the country; or in those of the Christian fathers and ecclesiastics, who were more eager to condemn the superstitions of the pagans than to make minute researches into their character and origin. The deity whom Tacitus calls *Mercu-*

rius seems to have been the Wodan or Odin of the Germans. The Gauls and Thracians also honored Mercury above all the other gods. (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 17 ; *Herod.*, v., 7.) *Mercurii dies* is Wodenstag, or Wednesday.

Cui certis diebus, &c. "Whom on certain days they consider it lawful to propitiate with human victims also." These victims were usually prisoners taken in war, and the mode in which they were sacrificed may be learned from Strabo (vii., p. 295). Germanicus saw in the Saltus Teutobergiensis the altars on which, after the overthrow of Varus, the tribunes and principal centurions were immolated. (*Ann.*, i., 61.) We find mention of human sacrifices among the Semnones (*Germ.*, c. 39) ; the Cimbri (*Oros.*, v. 15) ; the Saxones (*Sidon. Apoll.*, *Ep.*, viii., 6) ; the Heruli (*Procop.*, ii., 14) ; the Franks (*Id.*, ii., 25), &c. It would be unjust, however, to our German forefathers to suppose that such horrid rites were confined to them. They appear to have prevailed among almost all the nations of antiquity, including even the Greeks and Romans themselves. (*Plin.*, *H. N.*, xxx., 3.)

Herculem. (Consult chap. iii.)—*Martem.* Mars appears to be identical with *Thor* or *Thoron.* At a subsequent period, however, the German Thor appears to have been confounded with the Jupiter of the Romans, being regarded as the god of the thunder (*Donnergott*), and hence Thursday (*Thorstag*) received the appellation of *Donnerstag*, which it still retains.

Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. All kinds of conjectures have been formed respecting this Isis, and her connection with the Suevi. The most probable appears to be, that by Isis was meant the moon, which was worshiped by the Germans. (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 21.) The symbol of Isis would resemble either a pinnace, or the crescent moon. (Compare *Dilthey*, *ad loc.*)—*Signum ipsum.* "The symbol itself (of the goddess)."—*In modum liburnæ figuratum.* "Fashioned after the manner of a Liburnian galley." Supply *navis* after *Liburnæ.* The Liburnian galleys were commonly biremes, made very sharp in the bows, and built expressly for speed. (*Dict. Ant.*, *s. v.* Liburna.)

Nec cohibere parietibus, &c. "They do not consider it in accordance with the greatness of celestial beings either to restrain," &c. The same is said of the Persians, from whom the Germans are by some supposed to be sprung. (Compare *Herod.*, i., 131 ; *Cic.*, *De Leg.*, i., 2.)—*Lucos et nemora.* "Groves and woodlands." The term *nemus* is more extensive in signification than *lucus*, and has the same relation to it that the whole has to a part. Compare Cato

(*ap. Prisc.*, xiv., p. 629), "*Lucum Dianium in nemore Aricino*," &c., and consult *Döderlein, Lat. Syn.*, ii., p. 90; and, on the subject of the consecration of groves by the ancient nations, compare the remarks of Du Cange, *Gloss.*, *s. v.* Arbores Sacrivi, p. 361, *ed Hensch.*

Deorumque nominibus, &c. "And they call by the names of (different) deities that secret power, which they see with the eye of reverential faith alone." The allusion is to the secret and mysterious idea of deity, which they form unto themselves, and which they style by different names, such as Tuisco, Wodan, Thor, &c., but which they do not presume to embody into any external form. Some commentators less correctly refer *secretum illud* to the mysterious horror and gloomy silence of the sacred groves.

CHAPTER X.

Auspicia, sortesque, &c. "They observe auspices and lots as much as any people whatsoever," *i. e.*, no people are more addicted to divining by means of omens and lots. Observe the expression *ut qui maxime*, the same, in fact, as *ut illi faciunt qui maxime observant*, and compare the Greek ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα.—*In surculos amputant.* "They cut into small pieces."—*Notis quibusdam discretos.* "Distinguished by certain marks."—*Temere ac fortuito.* "Without order and at random." Observe that this is not a pleonastic form of expression, but that *fortuito* enlarges on the idea implied in *temere.* A method of divination similar to the one here described by Tacitus was practiced by the Scythians. (*Herod.*, iv., 67.)

Si publice consulatur. "If there be a consulting of the lots in a matter of public import." We have given *consulatur* here with Bekker, Lünemann, Grotefend, and Gunther. The more common reading in the latest editions is *consuletur*, which Walther and others advocate, but on very unsatisfactory grounds.—*Ter singulos tollit.* "Three times takes up a lot," *i. e.*, takes up three lots one after another. We must be careful not to render this, "takes up each three times." (Compare *Orelli*, *Symb.*, p. 13.)

Si prohibuerunt. Supply *sortes*, and observe the employment of the active *prohibuerunt* in conjunction with the passive *permissum*, a change of voices not unusual in Tacitus.—*Auspiciorum fides adhuc exigitur.* "The sanction of auspices is required in addition," *i. e.*, a confirmation by omens is in addition required.

Et illud quidem etiam hic notum. "That other custom, indeed, is also known even here." The pronoun *illud* refers to the custom prevalent in other lands, namely, among the Greeks and Romans,

and is in apposition with *avium voces volatusque interrogare*. Döderlein (*ad Agric.*, p. 64) regards *et . . . . . etiam* here as pleonastic, incorrectly, however.

Proprium gentis. He here speaks principally with reference to the Romans. The same custom is recorded of the Persians, the kinsmen of the German race. (*Herod.*, i., 189 ; vii., 55.) Compare *Dilthey, ad loc.*—*Candidi*. This will remind us of the white horses among the Persians, that were sacred to the sun.—*Contacti*. "Profaned." Literally, "touched," *i. e.*, polluted or sullied.—*Hinnitusque ac fremitus observant*. "And mark their neighings and snortings." Dilthey compares with this the story of the manner in which Darius Hystaspis is said to have obtained the kingdom (*Herod.*, iii., 85), connected as that story is with the adoration paid by the Persians to the sun. (*Justin*, i., 10.)

Ulli auspicio. "To any kind of augury."—*Sed apud proceres*. "But among the nobles also." Observe that *sed* is here for *sed et*, or *sed etiam*. Compare chap. xv., "*Sed publice*."—*Sacerdotes*. The Germans had no distinct order of priests like the Druids (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 21), though, from this chapter, it seems that in each state there were men invested with both a sacred and a magisterial character, who were frequently of noble or even kingly descent, as in the case of Segimundus at Ara Ubiorum (*Ann.*, i., 57), and Libys, the priest of the Catti, mentioned by Strabo (vii., p. 448). In cases of minor importance, the head of the family performed the necessary rites. (Compare *Luden*, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, i., p. 181, *seq.*)

Se enim ministros deorum, &c. "For they consider themselves (during the ceremony) as the ministers of the gods, the horses as privy (to their will)," *i. e.*, as divinely inspired. After *conscios* supply *voluntatis eorum*, or something equivalent.

Alia observatio auspiciorum. "Another mode of taking the auspices," *i. e.*, another mode of divination.—*Explorant*. "They strive to ascertain."—*Cum electo*. "With a chosen champion."—*Committunt*. The verbs *committere*, *comparare*, and *componere* are properly applied to matching two combatants together. So "*incompositus*," "not well matched." (*De Or. D.*, 26.)—*Pro præjudicio*. "As a presage." If the captive conquers, it is a bad omen for them ; if, on the contrary, their own countryman proves victorious, it is a favorable presage. *Præjudicium* is, properly, "a judgment or sentence which affords a precedent to be afterward followed," and therefore, in the present instance, literally, "a means of judging beforehand."

CHAPTER XI.

Principes. "The chiefs."—*Quorum penes plebem arbitrium est.* "The decision of which rests with the people."—*Pertractentur* This is the reading of all the early editions, and of almost all the MSS. Muretus and others, however, preferred *prætractentur ;* but, in the first place, the words *ea quoque* militate against this conjecture, and, besides, *prætractare* is found nowhere else, and is, in fact, not Latin, the ancient writers using *ante tractare.*

Fortuitum et subitum. "Accidental and sudden."—*Certis diebus.* "On stated days."—*Cum aut inchoatur luna,* &c. The moon was one of the principal deities of the Germans (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 21), and its changes would, therefore, naturally control their most important deliberations. (Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 50, and *Plin.*, *H. N.*, xvi., 44.)—*Nec dierum numerum,* &c. A trace of this mode of reckoning appears in the words *se'nnight* and *fortnight.* Compare, also, the language of the Sacred Writings: "And the evening and the morning were the first day" (*Gen.*, i., 5); and, again, "In the ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your Sabbath." (*Levit.*, xxiii., 32.)

Sic constituunt, sic condicunt. "In this way they decree, in this way they summon," *i. e.*, when they appoint a time in which any thing is to be done, or summon any individual to justice, they compute the period by so many nights, not by so many days. Brotier cites illustrations of this practice from the Salic law, *Tit.* 48: "*Inter decem noctes ;*" *Tit.* 50: "*In noctes quadraginta,*" &c.

Illud ex libertate vitium. "The following evil habit arises from the freedom which they enjoy."—*Quod non simul, nec ut jussi,* &c. With regard to the Treviri, on the other hand, Cæsar (*B. G.*, v., 56) says, "*Qui ex iis novissumus venit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur.*"

Ut turbæ placuit. "As soon as it has pleased the assembled throng." Observe that *ut* with the perfect indicative has the force of *simul ac.* Gronovius conjectures *ut turba placuit,* "as soon as the number has appeared sufficient," *i. e.*, for the transaction of business. But the MSS. are all against this, neither is the change at all required.

Quibus tum et coercendi jus est. Compare chap. vii.—*Decus bellorum.* "Warlike renown."—*Auctoritate suadendi magis,* &c. "More by reason of ability to advise than from any power to command," *i. e.*, weight of character and general ability to give good

advice insures them attention, rather than any authority to compel it arising from rank or station.—*Frameas concutiunt.* "They clash their frameæ."—*Armis laudare.* Compare *Hist.*, v., 17: "*Sono armorum tripudiisque* (*ita illis mos*) *approbata sunt dicta.*"

CHAPTER XII.

Apud consilium. These assemblies were convened chiefly to discuss matters relating to war, and the offences tried before them were principally such as affected the military interests of the nation. Other crimes were placed under the cognizance of the *principes*, who were elected to administer justice among the different cantons and villages.—*Discrimen capitis intendere.* "To prefer a capital charge," *i. e.*, to prosecute capital offences. Literally, "to aim (or direct) at one a risk of life, *i. e.*, a charge involving a risk of life. There is no allusion whatever here to the Roman *capitis deminutio*, in its judicial sense. For an account of this last, consult *Dict. Ant.*, *s. v.* Caput.

Ex delicto. "According to the degree of delinquency."—*Arboribus suspendunt.* They were, in fact, gibbeted alive. Heavy penalties were denounced against those who should take them down alive or dead. These are particularized in the Salic law, and cited by Brotier.—*Corpore infames.* Lipsius conjectures *torpore infames*, and strives to defend this reading in a patriotic excursus, which is given in Oberlin's edition at p. 830. Consult, however, Dilthey's note, where the whole subject is discussed.—*Cœno ac palude.* "Amid mire, and in a fen," *i. e.*, amid the mire of a fen. A body was found in 1817, at a considerable depth, in a moor in East Friesland, which is supposed to have undergone this punishment. (*Klemm*, *Germ. Alterth.*, p. 56.—*Weishaupt*, *ad loc.*)—*Crate.* "A hurdle." Heavy stones were, in all probability, placed on the top of this. For instances of a similar mode of punishment among the Romans, compare *Plaut.*, *Pœn.*, ii., 65; *Liv.*, i., 51; *Columella*, i., 6, 22; *Sueton.*, *Calig.*, 16.

Illuc respicit. "Has the following principle in view."—*Scelera . . . . . flagitia.* By the former are meant, "open crimes;" by the latter, "acts of infamy."—*Sed et levioribus delictis*, &c. "(Nor this alone); but there is also, for slighter offenses, a punishment proportioned to the degree of delinquency." *Delictis* is generally regarded here as the ablative, with an ellipsis of *in*; but the dative is far neater.—*Pœna.* We have followed here the conjecture of Acidalius, with Ernesti, Brotier, Oberlin, Bekker, and others. The

common text has *pro modo pœnarum, equorum pecorumque,* &c.—*Equorum pecorumque.* Their property, in fact, consisted of these. Compare chap. v.: "*Eæque solæ et gratissimæ opes sunt.*"

Eliguntur . . . . . reddant. (Compare *Cæs., B. G.*, vi., 23.)—*Per pagos vicosque.* (Compare *Cæs., B. G.*, iv., 1.) In like manner, the state of the Catti was divided into cantons and villages. (*Ann.*, i., 56.) Helvetia was divided into four cantons. (*Cæs., B. G.*, i., 12.) A similar division was adopted by the Saxons in England.—*Consilium simul et auctoritas.* "As a council of advice, and, at the same time, a means of enforcing their authority."

CHAPTER XIII.

Nihil autem neque publicæ, &c. "They transact, moreover, no business, either public or private, without being armed." (Compare *Cæs., B. G.*, v., 56; *Thucyd.*, i., 6.)—*Non moris.* "It is no part of their customs," *i. e.*, it is not customary. The partitive genitive.—*Suffecturum probaverit.* "Shall have ascertained by actual trial that he will be equal to the task." Observe the force of *probaverit*, implying that some kind of proof of his capabilities was to be given by the young man.—*Ornant.* The singular *ornat* would have accorded better with the conjunction *vel.*

Hæc apud illos toga. "This, with them, is the manly gown," *i. e.*, this, with them, takes the place of the manly gown, or *toga virilis*, among the Romans. (Consult *Dict. Ant., s. v. Impubes* and *Clavus Latus.*)—*Mox reipublicæ.* With this ceremony (as with marriage in the case of daughters) the power of the father over the child ended, and the young man now took part in public assemblies, &c.

Insignis nobilitas, &c. The meaning of this sentence seems to be, that a man's nobility or achievements gave his sons a right to be accounted of princely rank, even before they were old enough to have distinguished themselves in the field; and, accordingly, they associated as *comites* with young men, who had reached a more robust age, and had already distinguished themselves.—*Ceteris robustioribus,* &c. "They are associated, (however), unto the other youths that are more robust of frame, and have long since been approved, nor do they blush to be seen among the companions of these." With *rubor*, supply *est illis.* The more common phraseology, however, is *rubori est,* which is used elsewhere by Tacitus himself. (*Ann.*, xi., 17; xiv., 55.) Ernesti and Brotier, following Lipsius, Freinshem, and others, read *ceteri* in place of *ceteris*, from a complete misapprehension of the meaning of the passage.

Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet. "Moreover, even companionship itself has its several degrees." The words *et ipse* are expunged by Walch, and perhaps correctly. They are certainly not needed. In all probability, *et* arose, by some corruption, from *etiam*, which precedes, and perhaps *ipse* was then inserted to give more emphasis to *comitatus*. (Consult *Gerlach, ad loc.*)

Hæc dignitas, hæ vires. "In this consists their dignity, in this their strength."—*Id nomen, ea gloria est.* "Does this confer a distinguished name, is this a source of renown." Literally, "Is this a name, is this a glory."—*Et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.* "And they oftentimes nearly bring wars to a close by their reputation alone." *Profligare* is, "to cause to totter," literally. Hence it is frequently followed by *conficere*. From this has been derived the meaning of "nearly to finish." What is mentioned in the text is related by Cæsar of Indutiomarus (*B. G.*, v., 55); by Tacitus of Segestes (*Ann.*, i., 57); of Flavius, the brother of Arminius (*Ann.*, ii., 9); and of Inguiomerus (*Ann.*, ii., 45).

CHAPTER XIV.

Jam vero infame, &c. "Above all, however, is it a source of infamy and reproach during the whole of one's life." The expression *jam vero*, like *tum vero*, is always employed to introduce the climax, and requires, therefore, occasionally a somewhat free mode of rendering. Compare the version of Böttiher, "*Das aber vollends ist fürs ganze Leben eine Schande und eine Schmach.*"—*Probrosum.* Observe that *infame* here refers to the actual infamy, considered *per se*, and *probrosum* to the reproaching of one with that stain upon his character.

Superstitem principi, &c. Hence, when Chonodomar, king of the Alemanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, his companions, two hundred in number, and three of his most intimate friends (*amici junctissimi*), deeming it infamous to survive their prince, or else not to die for him, if chance should so will it, delivered themselves up to be thrown into fetters. (*Amm. Marcell.*, xvi., 12, 60.)—*Præcipuum sacramentum.* "Is their chief and most sacred obligation." *Sacramentum* here denotes a sacred duty, &c., and one generally guarded by an oath. Hence the term was especially applied to the military oath of the Roman soldiery; and Tacitus, therefore, expressly employs the word in the present case to show how binding among the Germans was the obligation to which he refers.

Tueare. So *quiescas* (chap. xxxvi.), and *acciperes*, *coerceas*, *asse-*

quare (*Ann.*, ii., 30 ; iii., 54 ; vi., 8.)—*Exigunt enim*, &c. Montesquieu derives from this the origin of *vassalage*. At first the prince gave to his nobles arms and provisions. As cupidity increased, money, and then lands, were required, which last, from benefices (*beneficia*), became at length hereditary possessions, and were called *fiefs*. Hence the establishment of the feudal system. (*Esprit des Lois*, xxx., 3.)

Illum bellatorem equum. "That war-steed." The pronoun is here meant to express gesture, or a pointing at the object sought to be obtained. So, likewise, *illam* in the succeeding clause. Observe, moreover, the expression *bellatorem equum*, and compare Virgil, *Georg.*, ii., 145 : "*Hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert.*" Consult, also, Bötticher's remarks on the poetical complexion of the style of Tacitus.—*Nam epulæ et convictus*, &c. "For banquets and common tables, although homely, yet marked by abundant supply, take the place of pay." We have followed here the reading of the earlier editions, by which *largi apparatus* becomes the genitive of quality (*Zumpt*, § 426). This is also given by the Bipont editor, and by Passow, Hess, Dilthey, and others. The other reading is as follows : "*Nam epulæ et, quamquam incomti largi tamen apparatus*," &c. "For banquets and entertainments, although homely, yet plentiful, take the place of pay." In this latter, *apparatus* becomes the nominative plural. The former reading, however, is undoubtedly the true one. The pay of the companions did not consist in mere occasional banquets, but in their sharing a daily table with the leader, or, as the term *convictus* literally means, "a living with" him. This common table, always plentifully supplied, was occasionally rendered still more so by a banquet on a large scale.

Per bella et raptus. "By means of wars and plundering excursions." (Compare Cæsar, *B. G.*, vi., 23 : "*Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt.*")—*Exspectare annum.* "To await the produce of the year." Another poetic form of expression. *Annus* is often used by the poets for *proventus anni*, or *messis* ; as, for instance, by *Lucan*, iii., 452. (Compare *Markland*, *ad Stat.*, *Sylv.*, iii., 2, 22.) Agriculture was not entirely neglected by the Germans ; it was only not prosecuted with any great degree of zeal. (Compare Cæs., *B. G.*, vi., 22 : "*Agriculturæ non student.*") The cultivation of the fields was left, as Tacitus himself informs us, to the women, old men, and weakest part of the family. (*Vid.* chap. xv. Compare chap. xxvi.)

Vocare hostes. "To challenge the foe." The simple *vocare* is here employed for *provocare*.—*Vulnera mereri.* "To earn wounds."

Another poetical form of expression for *fortiter pugnare*.—*Pigrum et iners.* "Spiritless and inert."

CHAPTER XV.

Multum venatibus. The MSS. have *non multum*, but the negative has been rejected from the text by many editors, at the suggestion of Lipsius, who in this way seeks to reconcile the account of Tacitus with that of Cæsar (*B. G.*, vi., 21), where we find it stated of the ancient Germans, that "*Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit.*" So, again (*B. G.*, iv., 1), it is said of the ancient Suevi, that "*multum sunt in venationibus*."—*Per otium.* "Amid total inaction." Observe here the employment of *per* with the accusative, after an ablative (*venatibus*) in the previous and corresponding clause. There appears to be more of continuance expressed by the preposition with its case. Longolius cites the following instances of this same peculiarity in other parts of Tacitus: "*Per acies aut proscriptione.*" (*Ann.*, i., 2): "*Per obsequium . . . . . . prœliis.*" (*Germ.*, c. 40): "*Virtute aut per artem.*" (*Agric.*, c. 9): "*Temeritate aut per ignaviam.*" (*Ib.*, c. 41.)

Delegata domus et penatium, &c. "The care of the house, and family affairs, and of the fields, having been given over to the women," &c. The verb *delegare* or *legare* properly means, "to commission another to act for you." The penates, in strictness, presided over the *penus*, or general receptacle of family stores; and also over the operations by which food was rendered more available for human purposes. Hence, eventually, they became the guardians of family affairs in general. It is in this sense that Tacitus transfers the term from Roman to German customs. (Compare *Virgil*, *Æn.*, i., 704.)

Familia. Properly, "the gang of slaves." Here, however, it merely means "family."—*Mira diversitate naturæ.* "By a strange contrariety in their nature."—*Vel armentorum, vel frugum.* "Either a certain number of cattle, or a certain quantity of grain." These genitives may be supposed to depend on *aliquid* understood, although Dilthey refers them at once to the *quod* which follows.—*Gaudent.* Referring to the *principes*.—*Phaleræ torquesque.* "Rich trappings and gold chains." (Consult *Dict. Ant.*, *s. v.*)

Jam et pecuniam, &c. The Romans had not only procured the friendship of Ariovistus, Segestes, Malovendus, and others, in this way, but had also begun to purchase peace of the Germans. (*Vid.* chap. xlii., and compare *Ann.*, ii., 13; *Dio Cass.*, lxvii., 7; lxviii., 9.)

CHAPTER XVI.

Nullas Germanorum populis, &c. Towns are, however, mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.*, ii., 62), Cæsar (*B. G.*, iv., 19), &c. Bekker contends that Tacitus, deceived by the false reports of others, has made a mistake here. As a general rule, however, especially for Germania Transrhenana, his observation seems to be correct. For the reason of this custom of the ancient Germans, see *Hist.*, iv., 64.—*Junctas sedes.* "Contiguous settlements."—*Colunt discreti ac diversi.* "They dwell scattered and separate."—*Ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus, placuit.* Traces of this early mode of dwelling remain in the endings of the names of many towns and villages, such as *Born*, *Bach*, *Feld*, *Wald*, *Hayn*, *Berg*, *Stein*, *Au*, *Furth*, &c., examples of which may be found in Cluver's *Germania Antiqua*, i., 7, 13.

Connexis et cohærentibus ædificiis. "With the buildings adjoining one another and running on in rows."—*Spatio circumdat.* This mode of building still prevails in Westphalia, in the Spessart Mountain in Bavaria, and in other quarters of Germany. (Consult *Möser*, *Osnabruck. Geschichte*, p. 142.)

Cæmentorum. "Of building stone." *Cæmenta* are, properly, the chips made in hewing stones (from *cædere*).—*Materia ad omnia utuntur*, &c. "They make use for all purposes of timber unhewn, and without any thing pleasing to the eye or calculated to attract." Observe the expression *citra speciem aut delectationem*, which means, in fact, that they took no pains to make it look well. *Citra* implies a stopping short of something: it could not have been used if they had taken pains to make it ugly.

Diligentius. "With more than ordinary care." Supply *solito.*—*Illinunt.* Barth, in his *Urgeschichte von Teutschland* (ii., p. 249), conjectures *inlimunt*, but, unfortunately, this word is not Latin.—*Terra ita pura ac splendente.* A kind of gypsum is meant.—*Ut picturam ac lineamenta*, &c. "As to give the appearance of a painting and of colored outlines."

Subterraneos specus aperire. "To dig subterranean caves." Compare the account which Xenophon gives of the dwellings in the cold uplands of Armenia (*Anab.*, iv., 5, 25).—*Suffugium hiemi.* In these subterranean dwellings they appear to have carried on their manufacture of linen. Compare *Pliny* (*H. N.*, xix., 2): "*Germani autem defossi atque sub terra id opus agunt.*"—*Aperta populatur.* "He lays waste merely the open country." Supply *loca.*—*Fallunt.* "Escape his observation."

CHAPTER XVII.

Sagum. The sagum was a sort of cloak, which covered the shoulders and back, and among the Romans was worn chiefly by rustics and soldiers.—*Fibula, aut, si desit, spina consertum.* "Fastened by a clasp, or, if that be wanting, by a thorn." The rich would, of course, use the former, the poor the latter.—*Cetera intecti.* Compare Cæsar's account of the endurance of cold by the Suevi. (*B. G.*, iv., 1.) So Pomponius Mela says of the Germans in general: "*Maximo frigore nudi agunt, antequam puberes sint*" (iii., 3).

Non fluitante. "Not flowing loosely." (Compare *Lucan.*, i., 430; *Pers.*, iii., 53; *Juv.*, ii., 169.)—*Sicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi.* The Oriental nations, in general, were accustomed to wear loose and flowing garments. The attire of the Sarmatians and Parthians appears on ancient coins. It was imitated by the Vangiones, a German tribe on the Rhine, in the territory around *Worms* and *Speier*, as we learn from Lucan, *l. c.*—*Singulos artus exprimente.* "Exhibiting the shape of each limb."

Gerunt et ferarum pelles. Compare Cæsar, *B. G.*, iv., 1.—*Proximi ripæ negligenter*, &c. "Those nearest the bank (of the stream) with little care (in their selection), those farther inland displaying more research," *i. e.*, the tribes near the Roman frontiers, having the means of procuring other kinds of dress, by means of commerce, did not use much care in selecting the skins and furs; those in the interior, however, having no such means, were compelled to be more particular. Observe that *ripæ* refers to the bank as well of the Danube as the Rhine; in other words, to the whole Roman frontier. Muretus, Acidalius, and others, are in favor of transposing the present arrangement, and of reading "*proximi ripæ exquisitius, ulteriores negligenter*," but the explanation just given is a sufficient answer to this.

Et detracta velamina spargunt maculis, &c. "And they diversify the skins taken off from them with spots, and with strips of the furs of marine animals," &c. All savages are fond of variety of colors, hence the practice here alluded to on the part of the Germans. The marine animals meant were probably of the seal kind.—*Maculis, pellibusque.* We have placed a comma after *maculis*, to show that we have here no hendiadys, as some maintain, but that the allusion in *maculis* is to actual colored spots, an idea which agrees very well with the use of the verb *spargere* (compare *Virg.*, *Eclog.*, ii., 41, and

Servius, ad loc.), and with the rude taste of the people themselves. (*Dilthey, ad loc.*)—*Exterior oceanus atque ignotum mare.* According to Brotier, the northern ocean and the icy sea.

Variant. "They variegate."—*Partemque vestitus superioris*, &c. "And they do not lengthen out the upper part of their garment into sleeves; they are bare as to their arms below and above." *Brachium* is from the hand to the elbow; *lacertus*, from the elbow to the shoulder. (Compare *Ovid, Met.*, i., 501.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sed et proxima pars pectoris patet, &c. "(Nor this alone), but the part of the bosom immediately adjacent also lies open to the view: although their matrimonial engagements are rigidly adhered to." There is some doubt with regard to the words at the beginning of this chapter, from *sed et* to *patet*, several editions exhibiting them at the close of the preceding chapter. The arrangement which we have adopted seems the neater one of the two. The expression *quamquam severa illic matrimonia* is intended to be explanatory of what immediately precedes, since a Roman reader, judging from the license and corruption that characterized so many of the females of his own country, would imagine that this nudeness of person on the part of the German women betokened a corrupt state of morals.

Qui non libidine, &c. "Who, not through incontinence (on their part), but on account of their rank, are solicited by very many offers of marriage," *i. e.*, have numerous wives offered them by the parents of these females, in order to derive advantage from the rank and influence of the party to whom the offer is made. Compare the explanation of Forcellini, "*quorum favorem et gratiam plurimi captant datis in matrimonium filiabus.*" We must be careful, however, not to confound this mode of speaking with the form of expression employed by Virgil (*Æn.*, vii., 333), *Ambire connubiis*, "to circumvent, or win the favor of, by the pretext of a marriage." An illustration of the language of Tacitus may be found in the case of Ariovistus, as mentioned by Cæsar (*B. G.*, i., 53).

Dotem non uxor marito, &c. Among the Germans, wives were bought, as appears from the Saxon laws. Thus (*Tit.* vi., *de Conjugiis, Lex* 1): "*Uxorem ducturus trecentos solidos det parentibus ejus: si autem sine voluntate parentum, puella tamen consentiente, ducta fuerit, bis trecentos solidos parentibus ejus componat*," &c. On this whole subject consult *Ducange, Gloss., s. v. meta, mundium, widemo*; and also the work of Hager, "*De ritibus veterum Germanorum circa*

matrimonia incunda." Lips., 1738.—*Munera probant.* "Pass their approbation on the presents," *i. e.* examine into their sufficiency.

Munera non ad delicias muliebres quæsita. "Presents not selected to gratify a female taste." Literally, "not selected for female delight (in them)," *i. e.*, not such presents as necklaces, bracelets, fine attire, &c. The repetition of *munera* appears objectionable here, especially as *hæc munera* follows soon after. Consult *Bötticher, ad loc.*—*Comatur.* "May be adorned." *Cōmo* is not derived from *cŏma*, "the hair," but is compounded of *co* (*con*) and *emo*, and signifies, therefore, "to put together," "arrange," "adorn." It is a word especially applied to the female sex. Compare *Terence* (*Heaut.*, ii., 2, 11): "*Dum moliuntur, dum comuntur, annus est.*"

In hæc munera. "On these presents being given." Some, less correctly, make *in* here denote a condition, like ἐπί in Greek, with the dative.—*Hoc maximum vinculum*, &c. "This they regard as the firmest bond of union, these as their mysterious rites, these as their conjugal deities." This is all in opposition to Roman customs. The *arcana sacra*, in the case of the latter people, were connected with the ceremony of the *confarreatio*, the taking of the auspices, the sacrificing of a sow to Juno, &c. Among the Germans, on the other hand, they consisted merely in the giving of these simple bridal presents. (Compare *Moldenhawer, Alterth.*, p. 660, *seqq.*)

Extra virtutum cogitationes, &c. "Excused from exertions of fortitude, and exempt from the casualties of war." Commentators call our attention to the words "*bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis*," as forming an hexameter verse. So also "*Urbem Romam*," etc. (*Ann.*, i., 1).—*Accipere se, quæ liberis inviolata*, &c. "That she receives, what she is to return inviolate and worthy of their acceptance to her children, what her daughters-in-law are to receive, and, in their turn, transmit to her grandchildren." Editors differ in opinion respecting both the reading and interpretation of this passage. We have given what appears to be the least objectionable one. The allusion can not, of course, be to the *juncti boves* and *equus*, but the reference must be to the *arma*, which are not to be disgraced by any unfaithful conduct on her part, but to be handed down as heir-looms.

CHAPTER XIX.

Septæ pudicitia. "Fenced around by feelings of chastity." Several editions have *septa*, which would imply that a strict guard was

kept over them, to preserve them from corruption; whereas *septæ* means that their own modesty was a sufficient defence against all attempts upon their honor, which agrees much better with the general sense of the description. (Compare *Dilthey, ad loc.*)—*Nullis spectaculorum illecebris*, &c. "Corrupted by no allurements of public spectacles, by no incitements of convivial entertainments." On the corrupting influence of the Roman games and entertainments, consult *Seneca, Epist.*, vii., 27; *Juvenal, Sat.*, i., 55, *seqq.; Id.*, xi., 162, 201, 202.

Literarum secreta. "Clandestine correspondence in writing." For an account of the various explanations given to this phrase by different editors, consult *Dilthey, ad loc.* The meaning which we have adopted appears the most satisfactory.—*Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria.* On the frequency of this crime at Rome under the emperors, consult *Ann.*, ii., 85; *Juvenal*, vi., 488; *Id.*, ix., 22.—*Quorum pœna præsens.* One of the MSS. has *parentibus* in place of *præsens*, a very improbable reading. Even at Rome, before the passage of the *Lex Julia*, the husband might, if he pleased, inflict punishment on an unfaithful wife. (*Dion. Hal.*, ii., p. 95; *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 35.)

Accisis crinibus. "With her hair cut short." Cutting off the hair was regarded as a most disgraceful punishment. (Consult *Du Cange, Gloss., s. v. Decalvatio.*) In Luitprand's Laws of the Langobardi (ii., 17) we find it ordered, "*adulteras decalvari et fustigari per vicos vicinantes ipsius loci.*"—*Per omnem vicum.* Equivalent to *per totum vicum.*—*Publicatæ enim pudicitiæ*, &c. "For no indulgence is shown to open prostitution: such an offender will not find a husband by beauty, nor by youth, nor by riches." Literally, "to prostituted modesty," *publicatæ* being here equivalent to *vulgatæ.* Lipsius suggests *etiam* in place of *enim*, on the ground that Tacitus refers now not to the adulterous females just spoken of, but to unwedded ones. This is all very true, and yet he entirely mistakes the meaning of the writer. The latter is merely assigning a reason for the severe punishment of adultery among the Germans; and this is because no indulgence is shown to a prostitute. For he who would spurn the idea of wedding a prostitute would certainly not tolerate a prostitute in wedlock. (*Walther, ad loc.*)

Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, &c. A bitter allusion to the contrast afforded by the vices of his own countrymen.—*Sæculum.* "The fashion of the age." Compare Seneca: "*Desinit esse remedio locus, ubi, quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt.*"

Melius quidem adhuc eæ civitates. "Still better, indeed, do those

communities (of the Germans) act." Supply *agunt.* The later Latin writers use *adhuc* to strengthen comparatives, where the earlier ones (Cicero, for example) would have employed *etiam.* Compare Seneca (*Epist.*, 49), "*Adhuc paulo minus:*" *Id. ib.*, 47, "*Adhuc tenuior est:*" *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 17, "*Amplior adhuc cumulus,*" &c.

Et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. "And (in which) the expectations and wishes of a wife are brought to a close once for all." Literally, "and (in which) it is done for with the expectation and wish of a wife once for all." According to Procopius (ii., 14), wives among the Heruli were accustomed to hang themselves by the graves of their first and only husbands. This is like the practice of the Suttees in India. (*Dilthey, ad loc.*)—*Ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas.* "That there may be no further thought, no more prolonged desire (of union)."—*Tamquam matrimonium.* "As marriage itself." On losing their husbands, they lose marriage itself.

Finire. "To limit," *i. e.*, by murder or abortion.—*Ex agnatis.* By *agnati* Tacitus means children born after there was already an heir to the name and property of the father. Generally, by *agnati*, in Roman law, were meant relations by the father's side. On the frequency of infanticide among the Romans, see *Ann.*, iii., 25, 26; xv., 19. *Juvenal*, ii., 32; vi., 366, *seqq.*—*Quam alibi bonæ leges.* Corruption was never more rife at Rome than after the passage of the *Lex Julia* and the *Lex Papia Poppæa.* The earliest laws of the Germans, those, namely, of the Salic code, date only from the fifth century of our era.

CHAPTER XX.

Nudi. Partial, not entire, nudity is of course meant. Compare the commencement of chapter xvii.; consult, also, the commentators on Virgil, *Georg.*, i., 299.—*Sordidi.* This term appears rather to have reference to their attire, scanty as it was, than to their persons. Filthiness of person would hardly be consistent with the health and strength which they enjoyed. In chapter xxii., we are told of their washing themselves with warm water in the cold season; and Cæsar (*B. G.*, iv., 1) mentions their bathing in rivers.

Uberibus. The term *ubera* is generally used when speaking of animals. Among the ancient Germans the mother used to nurture the child with the breast for the space of two years, if no new offspring were born during the interval. Hence the basis of good health laid for the race during infancy.—*Nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur.* Among the Romans, on the contrary, the care of the

child was generally given over to Greek nurses, and some of the common domestic slaves. (Consult *Dial. de Or.*, c. 29.)

Dominum ac servum. The subject class among the ancient Germans may be divided into three branches : 1. Tributaries, composed of those who, when any country was conquered, retained their possessions, but paid an annual tribute to the conquerors for this privilege. 2. Serfs (*adscripti glebæ*). 3. Common household slaves (*servi, mancipia*).—*Nullis educationis deliciis.* "By no indulgence in the mode of bringing up."—*Donec ætas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat.* "Until age separates the free-born, (until) valor recognizes (them for her own)." Observe here the force of *agnoscere*, "to recognize or acknowledge for what has been previously expected or wished." Brotier thinks that the age here meant was the twelfth year, when, as appears from the Salic code (*Tit.*, xxviii.), the boy first became amenable to the laws. It would seem, however, from chapter xiii., that a somewhat later period is referred to.

Sera juvenum Venus, &c. "The marriages of the young men are (comparatively) late, and therefore the years of puberty have no drain upon them." Tacitus is here comparing northern with southern habits. In Italy, and other southern countries, the sexes arrive at maturity much sooner than among northern nations. Cicero's daughter, for example, was betrothed at ten years of age, and married probably at thirteen or fourteen. As regards what is here said of the German youth, compare the language of Cæsar, *B. G.*, vi., 21 : "*Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt*," &c.

Nec virgines festinantur, &c. "Neither are the virgins brought forward early ; there is the same long period of youth, a similar development of form. They are united equally-matched and robust," &c.—*Ac robora parentum liberi referunt.* "And the children inherit the vigorous constitutions of their parents." Literally, "bring back again," *i. e.*, exhibit again to the view.

Sororum filiis, &c. Hence, in the history of the Merovingian kings of France, so many instances occur of attachment and favor shown toward sisters and their children, and so many wars undertaken on their account. (*Montesquieu*, *Esprit des Lois*, xviii., 22.) —*Qui apud patrem.* "As by the father." Literally, "as with the father." We have retained *apud* in the text, from the conjecture of Rhenanus, with the best editors. The previous reading was *ad patrem*, which Passow very unnecessarily recalls, and Walther attempts, though not very clearly, to defend. The origin of the custom mentioned in the text has never been satisfactorily explained. It may, perhaps, have arisen from the circumstance of the sister's

both before marriage and during widowhood, being under the guardianship of the brother, if there were no father living. (Compare *Dilthey, ad loc.*)

Et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt. The meaning is, that, in taking hostages from any one, they demand the children of his sister rather than his own children.—*Tamquam ii et animum firmius,* &c. "As if these both hold a firmer sway over the affections, and exercise a wider influence over the family at large." They are not only dear to the father, but equally dear to the mother's brother.

Hæredes tamen, &c. The German laws of inheritance may be learned from the Salic code, *Tit.*, lxii., *de Alodis.*—*Liberi.* Under the term *liberi* are here included the *nepotes* and *pronepotes.*—*Nullum testamentum.* There was no will, because the rules of succession were established by law.—*Patrui, avunculi.* "Paternal uncles, maternal ones."

Quanto plus propinquorum, &c. "The more blood-relations there are, the greater the number of relatives by the mother's side, in so much higher favor stands old age; nor are there any advantages in being childless." *Propinqui* are those with whom there exists any relationship by blood; *cognati,* relations by the mother's side; *agnati,* relations by the father's side; *affines,* relations by marriage.—*Nec ulla orbitatis pretia.* There is no advantage, says Tacitus, in being childless among the Germans, as there is among the Romans; and he alludes in this to the court paid at Rome unto rich persons without children by the *Hæredipetæ*, or legacy-hunters. This practice formed a frequent subject of censure and ridicule with the Roman writers. Consult *Cic.*, *Parad.*, v., 2; *Horat.*, *Sat.*, ii., 5; *Id. Epist.*, i., 1, 78; *Plin.*, *Epist.*, iv., 15; *Senec.*, *Cons. ad Max.*, ii., 119; *Juvenal*, xii., 95; *Tac.*, *Ann.*, xiii., 52; *Id. ib.*, xiv., 40; *Petron.*, c. 116; *Martial*, iv., 56; *Ammian. Marcell.*, xiv., 6.

CHAPTER XXI.

Suscipere. "To adopt." This inheriting, as it were, of enmities is an old evil in all nations, whose political organization is based upon family and clan relationships. On its existence among the Greeks, consult the remarks of Müller (*Eumenides*, p. 126).—*Nec implacabiles durant.* "These (enmities), however, do not continue implacable." It was a wise provision, that among this fierce and warlike people revenge should be commuted for a payment.—*Homicidium.* This word occurs also in Pliny the elder, Petronius, and Quinctilian, but never in the writers of the golden age of Latinity.

—*Recipitque satisfactionem universa domus.* "And the whole family of the offender becomes responsible for the payment of the fine." Compare the Salic code (*Leg.*, i., 2), as given by Brotier, where traces of such a law may be found. It was abolished by King Childebert (*Decret.*, l. 15). Some, less correctly, explain the present passage so as to mean, that the whole of the family of the injured person receives part of the fine; others, that by the payment of the fine to the prosecutor the vengeance of the whole family is satisfied. The use of *recipere* in the sense of "to make one's self responsible for" is not uncommon. (Compare *Cic.*, *Phil.*, v., 18; *Ep. ad Att.*, v., 17; *Liv.*, xxxiii., 13.)

Utiliter in publicum. "(An arrangement) fraught with advantage to the public." Literally, "in a way useful to the public." So *in commune alacres.* (*Ann.*, xv., 12.)—*Juxta libertatem.* "When united with freedom," *i. e.*, in a free state.

Convictibus et hospitiis. "In common tables and acts of hospitality." Compare our own phrase, "to keep open house." On the hospitality of the German race, consult *Du Cange*, *Gloss.*, *s. v. Hospitalitas;* and also *Lindenblatt*, "*de hospitalitate et hospitio veterum.*" Stettin, 1825, 4to.—*Arcere tecto.* "To exclude from one's roof."—*Pro fortuna quisque*, &c. "Each one entertains (his guest) with a carefully prepared banquet according to his means." Compare the explanation of Jacobs: "*Secundum conditionem suam et opes excipit peregrinantes et ad domum suam accedentes.*"

Cum defecere. "When the means of entertainment have failed," *i. e.*, have become exhausted. Supply *epulæ.*—*Monstrator hospitii et comes.* "Becomes the guide and companion to the hospitable board of another," *i. e.*, shows him another house where he may be hospitably entertained, and accompanies him thither.—*Pari humanitate.* "With equal cordiality," *i. e.*, with the same cordiality as if they had been invited guests.

Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, &c. "It is a part of their customs to give unto him who is departing whatever he may have asked, and there is the same freedom of asking in return."—*Sed nec data imputant*, &c. "But they neither consider that they confer an obligation by what they give, nor do they hold themselves bound by what they receive." Observe here the middle signification of *obligantur.* The passive of many verbs in Latin has not only a properly passive meaning, but also a reflective one. In other words, a middle voice is found not only in Greek, but in Latin also. (*Zumpt*, § 146.)

Victus inter hospites comis. "Their manner of living with their

regular guests is marked by easy affability." After describing the general hospitality of the Germans, and their reception of mere strangers, Tacitus here speaks of their mode of receiving and entertaining regularly-invited guests, or, in other words, those connected with them by the ties of hospitality. (*Walther, ad loc.*) Some editors look upon this sentence as a mere gloss, or marginal note, which has got inserted into the text. Others consider *comis* as arising from a contracted mode of writing *communis* in the MSS. Others take *comis* to mean, "without any suspicion of deceit or treachery." Just as *comiter* is equivalent to *sine dolo malo.* The explanation of Walther, however, as given above, removes every difficulty.

CHAPTER XXII.

Quem plerumque in diem, &c. Compare chap. xv.: "*Dediti somno ciboque.*"—*Lavantur.* "They bathe." Middle force. Compare note on *obligantur* in previous chapter.—*Plurimum.* "During the greatest part of the year." Supply *temporis.*—*Separatæ singulis sedes*, &c. Eating at separate tables is generally an indication of voracity. Traces of it occur, also, in the Homeric poems.

Diem noctemque continuare, &c. "To keep drinking day and night, without intermission, is disgraceful to no one." More literally, "to make day and night continuous by drinking." The love of drinking was common to the Germans, with their stem-relatives, the Persians. (Compare *Xen.*, *Cyrop.*, viii., 8.)—*Ut inter vinolentos.* "As is natural among a people addicted to drink." Rhenanus conjectures *violentos*, because the Germans were without any wine! But consult the commencement of the succeeding chapter.

Sed et de reconciliandis, &c. Herodotus relates the same thing of the Persians (i., 133; ii., 72), and Plutarch of the Greeks. (*Sympos.*, viii., 9.)—*Invicem.* "Mutually."—*Tamquam nullo magis tempore*, &c. "As if the breast at no time lies open more for the entertaining of sincere thoughts, or warms more for the reception of heroic ones." Various explanations have been given of the epithet *simplices* in this passage. The best is that which makes it equivalent to *nudas, non fucatas, i. e.*, "sincere, ingenuous, undisguised." (Consult *Walther*, *ad loc.*)

Gens non astuta, nec callida, &c. "This nation, neither acute nor crafty, still disclose the secrets of their breasts amid the freedom of festivity." Observe here the force of *adhuc*, as rightly explained by Passow. Tacitus is again contrasting the Germans with the Romans, from the latter of whom the former, according to him,

have *not yet* learned the art of hiding the secret sentiments of the bosom. Some, less correctly, render *adhuc* here "moreover," making it equivalent to *insuper*.

Omnium mens. "The plans and opinions of all."—*Et salva utriusque temporis ratio est.* "And the account of each time is kept even." The expression *salva ratio* is properly used when the debtor and creditor sides of an account balance one another. So here Tacitus means to say, that by the method they pursued of deliberating when they knew not how to dissemble, and deciding when there was no chance of their erring, they kept the balance even; so that their rashness and caution mutually checked and restrained each other.

The following remarks of Passow deserve to be inserted here. In almost every instance, he observes, that is mentioned in this chapter, the habits of the Romans were opposed to those of the Germans. They used to rise before daylight, to play at ball or take exercise of some kind before they washed or bathed; at dinner to use seats which were joined together; by the laws of the Twelve Tables they were forbidden to appear in arms in the city; to drink in the daytime was esteemed disgraceful; and, lastly, mutual diffidence and distrust prevailed at their banquets. (*Passow, ad loc.*)

CHAPTER XXIII.

Potui humor ex hordeo, &c. "For drink they have a liquor made out of barley or wheat, changed by fermentation into a kind of resemblance to wine." The allusion here is to ale or beer. Malt liquors appear to have been very commonly used among many of the ancient nations; thus we find mention made of the *ζῦθος* of the Egyptians (*Herod.*, ii., 77); the *κοῦρμι* of the Egyptians, Spaniards, and Britons (*Dioscor.*, ii., 81); the *cerevisia* or *cervisia* of the Gauls, &c. Most of the passages in ancient authors which relate to beer or malt-drinks have been collected by Meibomius, "*De Cervisiis Veterum*" (*Gronov., Thes. Ant. Græc.*, vol. ix., p. 548, *seqq.*).—*Corruptus.* This term does not necessarily imply being spoiled; it would be applied to any natural production of which the character is completely changed by art to adapt it to the use of man.

Proximi ripæ et vinum mercantur. "Those who border on the river's bank also buy wine." The reference is to the banks of the Rhine and Danube, but more particularly the former. (Compare chap. xvii.) According to Cæsar (*B. G.* iv., 2), they allowed no wine to be brought in among them. The first vines were introduced into Germany by the Emperor Probus, as is thought. (*Vopisc.*, c. 19.)

Agrestia poma. "Wild fruit." *Pomum* is a very general term, and includes any eatable fruit.—*Recens fera.* "Fresh venison." Supply *caro.* Some, misled by the language of Pomponius Mela (iii., 3) and Florus (iii., 13), think that raw flesh is meant. But *recens fera* is nothing else than *fera recens capta.*—*Lac concretum.* "Coagulated milk." Curds are meant, rather than cheese, although the latter was likewise an article of German diet. Compare Cæsar (*B. G.*, vi., 22): "*Major pars victus eorum in lacte, caseo, carne consistit.*" Some suppose butter to be here meant, but this was rather the food of the higher classes. Compare Pliny (*H. N.*, xxviii., 9): "*E lacte fit butyrum, barbararum gentium laudatissimus cibus, et qui divites a plebe discernat.*"

Sine blandimentis. "Without any coaxings (of the appetite)." The contrast between this and Roman luxury was striking enough. (Compare *Pliny, H. N.*, ix., 17.)—*Temperantia.* "Self-control." —*Ebrietati.* "Their propensity to intoxication."—*Haud minus facile,* &c. This is not to be understood as meaning that the Germans were easy to be conquered by arms, but merely that their own vices proved formidable means of subjugation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, &c. "Naked youths, who engage in this sport, throw somersets amid swords and frameæ pointed at them." Observe that there is nothing in *infestus* itself which ever implies hostility. *Festus* is only the old participle of *fero,* like *gestus* from *gero.* The following wood-cut, from the *Museo Borbonico* (vol. vii., *tav.* 58), may throw light on the species of diversion here referred to.



Ars decorem. "Skill (has produced) gracefulness of movement." *Decor* is properly a poetical word, and was probably not employed in prose until after the Augustan age. It is especially frequent in Quintilian.—*Non in quæstum tamen, aut mercedem.* "(They do) not, however, (do this) as a trade, or for hire." Supply *hoc faciunt.* The case was far different with the Romans, in both their scenic and circensian celebrations.—*Pretium.* "The recompense."

Aleam (*quod mirere*), &c. Although the Romans were much addicted to gambling (see *Juvenal*, i., 88; viii., 10; xi., 174), yet it was esteemed disreputable, and was forbidden by the laws, except during the Saturnalia. (*Cic.*, *Phil.*, ii., 23; *Hor.*, *Od.*, iii., 24, 58.)

Quamvis juvenior. The more usual form is *junior*; still, however, the more regularly constructed *juvenior* is defended in the present passage and elsewhere by good MSS. (Consult *Gierig*, *ad Plin.*, *Epist.*, iv., 8, 5.)—*Ea est in re prava pervicacia.* "Such is their obstinate perseverance in a bad practice." A scholiast on Horace (*Epod.*, xviii., 14) explains the term *pervicacia* (in accordance with its derivation from *per* and *vinco*) as applicable, properly, to a person who maintains a contest until he gets the victory: "*pervicaces sunt, qui in aliquo certamine ad vincendum perseverant.*" (*Dilthey*, *ad loc.*)

Ipsi fidem vocant. The good faith of the ancient Germans in keeping their promises was proverbial. (Compare *Ann.*, xiii., 54.)—*Tradunt.* "They hand over to others," *i. e.*, they rid themselves of.

CHAPTER XXV.

Discriptis per familiam ministeriis. "In services distributed throughout the household." The true reading here is undoubtedly *discriptis*, which, though of frequent occurrence in the MSS., is commonly altered in the editions to *descriptis.* The derivation of this latter form, however, does not lead to the idea of distribution, since *describere* is merely "to mark out, to copy," &c.

Non in nostrum morem. The Romans went to a very great length in appointing different slaves to superintend the various departments of their domestic economy. Among the wealthy, in later times, there was scarcely a single household duty that was not allotted to some particular slave, who attended to that and nothing else. Lists of these slaves may be seen in *Dilthey* (*ad loc.*), but more particularly in *Blair*, "*Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans*," p. 131, *seqq.*

Quisque. "Each slave." The slaves here meant, as appears from what follows, were a kind of rustic bondsmen, and their con-

dition was the same as that of the vassals, or serfs, who a few centuries ago made up the great body of the people in every country in Europe. They were attached to the soil, and went with it like the Roman *coloni*, and hence we see why each had an abode (*sedes*) of his own, and regulated his own household affairs (*suos penates*). The Germans, at a later period, imitating the Romans, had slaves of inferior condition, to whom the name of slave became appropriated; while those in the state of rural vassalage were called *Liden* (*Liti* or *Litones*). (Consult *Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 300, *seqq.*)

Ut colono. "As upon a tenant," *i. e.*, as upon one of those whom we Romans term *coloni.* The term *colonus* is here employed in the sense which it had during the later imperial period. The *coloni* paid a certain yearly rent for the land on which they lived, and were attached to the soil (*glebæ adscripti*), from which, as a general rule, they could not be separated. (Consult *Dict. Ant.*, *s. v. Prædium.*)—*Et servus hactenus paret.* "And the slave thus far obeys," *i. e.*, the slave is not bound to render any other services.

Cetera domus officia, &c. "The other, (which are) household duties, his own wife and children discharge." *Domus* here refers to the house of the master, and not, as Passow erroneously supposes, to that of the slave. The Germans did not employ slaves at this period in household duties, but used for this purpose the services of their own wives and children. (*Orelli, ad loc.*) Observe, moreover, the peculiar employment of *cetera* in the present passage, and compare the explanation of Walther, "*cetera officia, scilicet domus officia.*"

Verberare servum, &c. Tacitus opposes this to the cruelty of masters among the Romans. Various laws were enacted by Servius Tullius, Augustus, Hadrian, and others, to check the cruelty of the Romans toward their slaves. (Consult *Seneca, de Ira*, iii., 40; *Id., de Clem.*, i., 18; *Id., Epist.*, 46, 47; *Plin., H. N.*, ix., 23; *Juvenal*, vi., 219; *Heyne, Opusc.*, vol. iii., p. 189.)

Non disciplina et severitate, &c. "Not in the way of chastisement, and from any severe infliction of the same, but from the impulse of the moment, and anger (in particular, as the exciting cause)." We must be careful not to regard this as a mere hendiadys for *disciplinæ severitate* and *impetu iræ.* It is, in reality, a much stronger form of expression. Compare the remarks of Bötticher on the so-called figure ἓν διὰ δυοῖν in Tacitus, p. xlvi.—*Nisi quod impune.* "Except that they do it with impunity," *i. e.*, kill a slave with impunity. A private enemy could not be slain with impunity, since a fine (*Wergeld*) was affixed to homicide; but a

man might kill his own slave without any punishment. If, however, he killed another person's slave, he was obliged to pay his price to the owner. (*Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 289.)

Libertini non multum supra servos sunt. Among the Franks, the freedmen seldom attained to the full right of those who were free-born. They could not inherit property, or give testimony against free-born men. If a freedman, moreover, died without children, his property went to the treasury, as appears from the Ripuarian code. (*Tit.*, lvii., l. 4.) All the editions before that of Ernesti have *Liberti* here, for which that editor correctly substituted *Libertini*, in accordance with the strict distinction between the two terms. (Compare *Cic.*, *in Verr.*, i., 47.) Walther, Dilthey, and others oppose the change, but on very unsatisfactory grounds. The reference is not to the freedmen of particular masters or families, but to freedmen considered as a class. Hence the employment of the term *libertini* immediately after (*impares libertini*), and which confirms Ernesti's emendation.

Raro aliquod momentum in domo. "They rarely possess any weight in the family." Supply *habent.*—*Quæ regnantur.* "Which are governed by kings." Literally, "which are reigned over." Such, for example, were the Gotones, mentioned in chapter xliii., and the Suiones in chapter xliv. Unto a Roman, after the experience afforded by a Nero and a Domitian, the terms monarchy and despotism had become almost synonymous.—This employment of *regno* in the passive voice departs from common usage, since in the active voice it is used intransitively. Similar instances, however, occur in other parts of Tacitus ; as, for example, in chapter xliii. of the present treatise ; in *Ann.*, xiii., 54 ; and in *Hist.*, i., 16. So, also, in Pliny, *H. N.*, vi., 23. (Compare *Drakenborch, ad Liv.*, i., 17, 3, and *Bötticher*, *Lex. Tac.*, p. 17.)

Ibi enim et super ingenuos, &c. A state of things exactly parallel to this existed among the Romans during the reigns of some of the worst of their emperors, when the pride of the nobility was so much lowered by the power and insolence to which freedmen attained by making themselves subservient to the vices of the prince.—*Apud ceteros impares libertini*, &c. "Among the rest, the subordinate condition of the freedmen is a proof of the value of freedom," *i. e.*, the fact that freedmen are held in such light estimation is a proof of the value set upon freedom and the rights of freemen.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Fenus agitare, &c. "To lend out money upon interest, and to increase it by means of usurious practices, is unknown (among them)." The expression *in usuras* is a poetic one for *usuris* or *per usuras*. Commentators make a great difficulty with this simple passage. Their various opinions may be seen stated by Weishaupt, p. 379. One of the worst of these is that advanced by Walther, who makes *fenus* have here the meaning merely of "capital," a signification which, as Freund correctly remarks, is extremely rare. Tacitus is silently comparing German with Roman manners. At Rome the most exorbitant usury was practiced, whereas the Germans are here described as not only strangers to usurious exactions, but even to the lending out of money on interest at all.

Ideoque magis servatur, &c. "And, therefore, the abstaining from this practice is more effectually observed than if the practice itself had been forbidden by law." A remarkable instance of conciseness in the original, which can not be imitated in a translation. The reference to what precedes is rather a mental than a grammatical one, and we must, therefore, supply with *servatur* some such expression as *abstinentia a fenore agitando*. On this usage of language, consult the remarks of Perizonius, *ad Sanct. Minerv.*, iv., 8, note v. Some commentators give *servatur* here the meaning of "is provided against," "is avoided," without any ellipsis; but for this there is no authority.—*Lege vetitum esset.* Usury was forbidden at Rome, though in vain, by the laws of the Twelve Tables, and by various enactments made by Licinius, Genucius, Sempronius, Julius Cæsar, and others. The Germans were free from it, on account of their little acquaintance with moneyed transactions.

Agri, pro numero cultorum, &c. "The lands are occupied by whole communities in turn, according to the number of persons to till them." The true reading here is undoubtedly *in vices*, and the meaning of the passage is, that the same territories were occupied by different tribes or communities in turn, to a greater or less extent, according to the number of persons to till them. The best commentary on Tacitus here is to be found in the account given by Cæsar of the Suevi (*B. G.*, iv., 1). Some commentators, however, disregarding the authority of Cæsar, read *vicis* for *in vices*, and think that the Germans did not live in the manner of nomad tribes to such a degree as is commonly supposed; but that individuals had possessions of their own, which they retained, without any of the ex-

changes mentioned above. This view of the subject, however, wants confirmation in every respect.

Arva per annos mutant, &c. "They change the arable lands every year, and a portion of ground remains over and above (each division)," *i. e.*, there is always a portion of ground that remains undivided. This was allowed to lie fallow until new cultivators took possession of it the ensuing year. There was no danger, therefore, of the land's becoming exhausted by repeated sowings on the part of each successive body of settlers, since all the land was not put under culture at any one time. They who adopt the reading *vicis*, however, understand the sentence to mean that, instead of sowing the same land every year, they change about, and suffer some plots to lie fallow, while others are ploughed.

Nec enim cum ubertate, &c. "Nor, indeed, do they attempt to vie in their exertions with the fertility and extent of the soil," *i. e.*, they do not pretend to bestow on the culture of the ground a degree of labor that may equal its fertility and extent. This, it will be perceived, serves particularly to explain the expression *superest ager*, which precedes.—*Sola terræ seges imperatur.* "A crop of corn is alone demanded of the earth, *i. e.*, they merely cultivate the ground for a harvest of grain, paying no attention to fruit-trees, the vine, &c.

Species. "Seasons." — *Intellectum ac vocabula habent.* "Are known and have names." The employment of the noun *intellectus* here indicates the silver age of Latinity, and *intellectum habent* is to be regarded as equivalent to *intelliguntur*, i. e., *nota sunt.—Auctumni perinde nomen*, &c. Particularly the grape and olive. Tacitus was probably mistaken in saying that they had no name for this season. *Herbst*, or *herbist* (whence the English term *harvest*), appears to have been its name. In Eginhart's Life of Charlemagne (c. 29) the month of November is called *Herbist-monat.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

Funerum nulla ambitio. "There is no parade about their funerals." Among the Romans it was directly the reverse. (Compare *Seneca, de Brev. Vit.*, 20 ; *Plin., H. N.*, xii., 41 ; *Tac., Ann.*, iii., 2.) Among the Gauls, also, funeral ceremonies were "*magnifica et sumtuosa.*" (*Cæs., B. G.*, vi., 19.—*Dilthey, ad h. l.*)—*Certis lignis crementur.* "Be reduced to ashes by means of particular kinds of wood," *i. e.*, those kinds of wood that were set apart for this purpose by law or custom. The bodies of the dead were generally burned among the ancient Germans, and this custom continued even after

the introduction of Christianity, until forbidden under pain of capital punishment by Charlemagne. (*Mon. Paderborn.*, p. 302.) The ashes were preserved in funeral urns, which were deposited in tombs, and have often been dug up in modern times. (Consult *Pauli*, "*Römische und Teutsche Alterth. am Rhein.*" Maynz, 1821; and *Busching*, "*Die heidnischen Alterthümer Schlesiens*," 1821, &c.)

Struem rogi. "The heap of the funeral pile," *i. e.*, the wood heaped up or arranged into the form of a funeral pile.—*Nec vestibus, nec odoribus.* Another opposition to Roman customs. Among the Romans, when the flames of the pile began to rise, various perfumes were thrown into the fire, and also cups of oil, ornaments, vestments, dishes of food, and other things which were supposed to be agreeable to the deceased. (*Virg.*, *Æn.*, vi., 225; *Stat.*, *Theb.*, vi., 126; *Lucan*, ix., 175.)

Sua cuique arma, &c. The deceased was supposed to follow the same occupations after death as in life. Similar customs on the part of the natives of India, and also the Scythians, Getæ, Thracians, and Gauls, are alluded to by *Herod.*, iv., 71; *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 19; *Pomp. Mel.*, ii., 2; *Val. Max.*, ii., 1; *Solin.*, 10, &c. On opening the tomb of one of the old Frank kings, a horse-shoe was found, the earliest specimen of the kind known.—*Sepulcrum cespes erigit.* "A mound of turf forms the elevation of the tomb," *i. e.*, the tomb is a mound of turf. Compare, as regards the Latinity of this passage, the language of Seneca (*Ep.*, 8): "*Hanc domum utrum cespes erexerit, an varius lapis.*" Mounds, or, as they are also called, barrows (in Latin, *tumuli*), and in which the ashes of the dead were deposited, are of frequent occurrence in Germany, Britain, and other countries.

Monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, &c. "They contemn the lofty and laborious honor of monumental structures, as burdensome to the dead." Compare the version of Bötticher: "*Der Denkmäler hochragende, mühevolle Ehre verschmähen sie.*" Tacitus had in view the splendid mausoleum of Augustus, as well as the other lofty and expensive funeral structures in the vicinity of the Roman capital. He does not, however, appear to have been aware of the existence of the celebrated *Hünenbetten* (*i. e.*, *mortuorum lecti*) in Germany. Consult *Klemm*, *Germ. Alterth.*, p. 102, and the representations given of these tombs in plate vi. of that work.

Lugere. "To bewail the loss of friends." *Lugeo* and *luctus* always refer to mourning for the dead. (Compare *Döderlein*, *Lat. Syn.*, iii., p. 237.)—*Singularum gentium.* "Of individual tribes." In enumerating the different tribes of Germany, Tacitus follows this order: In chapter xxviii. he speaks of those who did not properly

belong to Germany; in chapters xxix. and xxxiv., of those who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, toward the west; in chapters xxxv. and xxxvii., of those who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, toward the north; in chapters xxxviii. and xli. we have the members of the Suevic league commemorated; in chapters xlii. and xliii., those who dwelt along the Danube; in chapters xliv. and xlv., those who bordered on the Northern Ocean; and, in chapter xlvi., those who dwelt beyond the ocean, partly fabulous people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Validiores olim Gallorum, &c. "The deified Julius, the highest of authorities, relates, that the affairs of the Gauls were formerly in a more powerful condition than those of the Germans," *i. e.*, that the Gauls were formerly the more powerful people. The reference here is to the Sixth Book of Cæsar's Gallic Commentaries (cap. 24).—*Eoque credibile est*, &c. Compare *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 24.

Quantulum enim amnis obstabat. "For how small an obstacle did a river oppose." The Rhine, as is well known, has never been a limit to the movements of tribes and communities.—*Promiscuas adhuc*, &c. "As yet lying in common, and divided off by no power of monarchies," *i. e.*, and unappropriated by any powerful monarchies. Some MSS. have *diversas*, which forms no bad reading, *diversi* being used in the sense of *separated* in *Ann.*, xv., 56.

Igitur. For a similar use of *igitur*, at the beginning of a sentence, see *Vit. Agr.*, c. 13.—*Hercyniam silvam.* Consult Geographical Index, *s. v.*—*Mœnum.* The Mœnus, otherwise written Mænus, is now the River *Main.* The intermediate forms of the name are the *Mohin* and *Moin.* (*Bischoff und Möller*, *Wörterb. der Geogr.*, p. 718.)—*Ulteriora Boii.* For an account of the once powerful tribe of the Boii, consult Geographical Index, *s. v.* Tacitus makes them to have been of Gallic origin, but they were, more probably, a Germanic race. Von Hammer, who is an advocate for the Oriental origin of the name *Germani* (Germanen), traces that of the Boii to the Persian "*Boia.*" (*Ferhengi Schuuri*, *B.*, 221, *V.*—*Kruse*, *Archiv.*, &c., *Heft* ii., p. 128.)

Boiemi nomen. "The name of Boiemum." *Boiemum*, or *Boihemum*, probably means, "the home of the Boii" (*heim*, *heimath*). Some, however, as, for example, Wersebe, think that by *Boiemum* is meant what Cæsar calls "*oppidum Boiorum*" (*B. G.*, vii., 9) in Gallia, now *Beaujolois.*—*Significatque loci veterem memoriam.* "And implies a long-standing reminiscence of the original settlement."—

Quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Observe that *quamvis* is here for *quamquam*, a usage occurring only in the later prose writers. (*Gruber, ad loc.*)

Sed utrum Aravisci, &c. Tacitus here calls the Osi a German nation, whereas in chapter xliii. he remarks, that their use of the Pannonian tongue proves them to be not Germans. Some editors think that in the present passage their settlements only are referred to, but the contradiction is too manifest to be remedied in this way. Passow regards *Germanorum natione* as an interpolation, which is, probably, the true opinion, though rejected by Walther and others. —*Eadem utriusque ripæ bona malaque erant.* "There were the same advantages and disadvantages on both sides of the stream," *i. e.*, there was the same freedom and the same poverty. The river meant is the Danube.

Treveri et Nervii. Consult Geographical Index, *s. v.*—*Circa adfectationem Germanicæ originis.* "As regards an eager striving after a German origin." Compare the explanation of Freund (*Wörterb.*, *s. v.*), "*in dem Streben, für Germanen zu gelten.*" We have here two specimens of the Latinity of the silver age, namely, the employment of *circa* in the sense of *quod attinet ad*, and the use of the noun *adfectatio.* (Compare *Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 30, 86.)—*A similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur.* "They can separate themselves from all resemblance unto, as well as from the indolence that is characteristic of the Gauls," *i. e.*, can distinguish themselves from the Gauls, whom they resemble in person and in indolence. Observe the middle force of *separentur.*

Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Consult Geographical Index.—*Ne Ubii quidem, &c.* The Ubii were the allies of Cæsar against the Suevi, and were afterward transported to the left bank of the Rhine by Agrippa (B.C. 38). By *origine* is meant their German origin, before they became a colony; since it was hardly likely that a people who had been made a colony of by the Romans, and placed in a post of trust, as Tacitus says, *ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur*, should blush for this honor. Some commentators, however, have referred *origine* to Agrippina. (Consult Lipsius, *ad loc.*)

Conditoris sui nomine. We have no direct evidence as to who founded the colony in question. The town (now *Cologne*) was called *Colonia Agrippina*, or *Agrippinensis*, the first of which names would mean, "the Colony of Agrippa," and the second, "the Colony of Agrippina." (*Rasche, Lex. Rei Num*, vol. ii., col. 681; *Orelli, Inscript. Lat.*, 3381.) Now, Agrippa was engaged in this quarter on two occasions; while, on the other hand, Agrippina, the daughter

of Germanicus, and granddaughter of Agrippa, was born in this place. It is probable, therefore, that the colony was originally founded by Agrippa, and was called *Colonia Agrippina* merely, until Agrippina, after her union with Claudius, sent out her own colony, of which Tacitus elsewhere makes mention (*Ann.*, xii., 27), and the object of which, in all likelihood, was to strengthen the first. The name *Colonia Agrippinensis* began after this, it would seem, to be employed in common with the other. (Compare *Plin.*, *H. N.*, iv., 17.)

Experimento fidei. "From trial (having been made) of their fidelity," *i. e.*, in consequence of their tried fidelity. Observe that *experimento* is here the ablative.—*Ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.* "To restrain (others), not to be guarded (themselves)," *i. e.*, to keep their own countrymen in check, and prevent them from crossing over into the Roman territories; not placed there themselves to be watched by the Romans.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Batavi. The Batavi were the inhabitants of South Holland and some adjacent parts. They occupied the district between the Vahalis (*Waal*) and Mosa (*Meuse*), above their junction; and also the island formed by the northern arm of the Rhine (or Rhine of Leyden), the Vahalis and Mosa after their junction, and the ocean, which island now constitutes part of South Holland. They seem, also, from the language of the text, to have occupied a small tract on the banks of the Rhine, not included in the *insula Batavorum*, as it is called by Cæsar (*B. G.*, iv., 10). Compare, on this whole subject, the account given by Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv., 12), and also Geographical Index.

Ripa. When *ripa* is used alone, in speaking of the Rhine, it generally means, as in the present instance, the left bank of the stream.—*Seditione domestica.* Compare *Hist.*, iv., 12. The time when this happened is not given. Cæsar found them already established in their new seats.—*In quibus pars Romani imperii fierent.* This marks, of course, the consequence, not the intent.

Contemnuntur. As referring to the degradation connected with the payment of tribute.—*Nec publicanus atterit.* "Nor does any farmer of the revenue oppress them." The *publicani*, or farmers of the revenue, were principally members of the equestrian order. They did not themselves, however, take any part in the actual levying or collecting of the taxes in the provinces; this part of the business was performed by an inferior class of men. These in-

ferior officers were notorious for their insolence and oppression, and it is to such that allusion is made in the present instance.—*Adterit.* A peculiarly appropriate term. The verb *adterere* denotes, properly, "to wear away by dint of rubbing," and is here very fitly applied to the waste of private substance occasioned by repeated and ruinous exactions.

Bellis reservantur. The Batavi were styled Friends and Brothers of the Roman People, as the following inscription in *Junius Batav.*, p. 34, indicates: "*Gens Batavorum Amici et Fratres Romani Imperii;*" and also the following in Gruter, fol. 72, *N.* 9: "*Civ. Batavi Fratres et Amici P. R.*"

Mattiacorum gens. The Mattiaci, like the Batavi, probably a branch of the Catti, dwelt on the right bank of the Rhine, in *Wetterau* and *Hesse Darmstadt*, the tract possessed by the Ubii before they crossed the Rhine, between the Mœnus (*Main*) and Logana (*Lahn*). (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Ultra Rhenum.* The Rhine was always regarded as the natural line of division between the Roman and German sway.—*Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa*, &c. "Thus, as regards settlement and borders, they live on their own bank (of the stream); in sentiment and attachment they act with us." Observe the zeugma in *agunt.* There is nothing synonymous here, as some suppose, in *mente* and *animo.* By *mens* is here meant *cogitatio;* by *animus*, on the other hand, *voluntas.*

Nisi quod ipso adhuc, &c. "Except that, from the very nature of their soil and climate, they still retain more spirit." They are more warlike than the Batavi, in consequence of their occupying a mountainous country, and living under a more rigorous climate. Bötticher gives *adhuc* in this passage the meaning of *insuper* or *præterea* (*Lex. Tacit.*, p. 33); but it is better to regard it, with Gruber, as a particle of time.

Decumates agros. "The tithe-lands." This is not a proper name belonging to any tribe or place; but was applied to lands conquered by the Romans, in which, for the sake of security, that no hostile tribes might dwell close to their borders, they allowed Gauls or Roman soldiers to settle, who were charged with the payment of a tithe to the Romans. The Romans very commonly exacted a tithe from those who occupied the public lands: the greater part of Sicily was taxed in this way. For more particulars respecting the *Decumates Agri*, consult Geographical Index.

Dubiæ possessionis. At first these lands lay beyond the Roman boundary, and were unprotected against the incursions of the hostile Germans.—*Limite acto*, &c. "A boundary line being run, and for-

tified posts being pushed forward, they are (now) regarded as a nook of the empire, and a part of the (Roman) province (in this quarter)." The province referred to was that of Germania Cisrhenana, or of Rætia.

CHAPTER XXX.

Ultra hos. Tacitus means, beyond the tribes already mentioned as dwelling on or near the Rhine; not those occupying the *Decumates agri.*—*Catti initium sedis*, &c. "The Catti make the first rude beginning of their settlements from the Hercynian Forest." Mannert refers this to a chain of the Harz Mountains, running north from the *Main* for a considerable distance. (*Geogr.*, vol. iii., p. 183.) Observe the peculiar force of the expression *initium inchoant*, which is by no means pleonastic, as many suppose. The verb *inchoare* strictly refers to the first sketch or rude outline of any work, or to the first rude commencement of any thing, and is here peculiarly apposite. (Compare *Cic.*, *de Or.*, i., 2, 5: "*Quæ adolescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris inchoata ac rudia exciderunt.*") The territory of the Catti comprehended that of the modern Hessians, Fulda, the earldoms of Hanau and Isenburg, so much of Franconia as lies north of the Main, to the mouth of the Saale, part of Nassau, and the eastern portion of the Duchy of Westphalia. (Consult Geographical Index.)

Effusis. "Level."—*In quas Germania patescit.* "Into which Germany spreads itself."—*Durant siquidem colles*, &c. "Since hills continue on (here) in a long range, and (then) gradually become scattered." Observe the beautiful figure in *durant*, and compare the remarks of *Bötticher*, *Lex. Tac.*, p. 165. Passow, Hess, Dilthey, and others place a colon after *durant*, thus connecting it with what precedes, and making *civitates* its subject, "as the other states endure to dwell in." In the succeeding clause they read *siquidem colles paullatim rarescunt.* This, however, is far inferior.—*Siquidem.* The position of this word, as the second in the sentence, is in accordance with the habit of transposition in which Tacitus so frequently indulges. (Compare *Wernike, de Elocutione Taciti*; and *Gerlach, ad loc.*) The proper place of *siquidem* would be the first in the sentence.

Et Cattos suos, &c. "And the Hercynian Forest both escorts and sets down its own Catti." A bold and lively image. When a magistrate left Rome to take command of a province, it was usual for his friends to escort him part of the way: the term used to express

this was *prosequi.* So, in the present case, the settlements of the Catti lie along a continuous range of hills, until the ridge sinks down and the chain is broken. It then bends to the east and leaves the Catti. In the bold and vigorous language of Tacitus, the hills are said to escort the Catti, and to set them down at length in the lower grounds, when the ridge sinks and the hills turn away. Observe, moreover, the peculiar and striking beauty of the possessive *suos*, as denoting intimate companionship.

Duriora corpora, &c. "Hardier frames (than ordinary), compact limbs."—*Ut inter Germanos.* "As far as (we may expect this) among Germans." More freely, "considering they are Germans." The Germans were regarded by the Romans as generally deficient in the qualities to which Tacitus here alludes. The Romans, however, mistook mere want of culture for inferiority of intellect. Compare the remarks of Luden, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, i., p. 147.

Præponere electos. "To place over themselves chosen leaders." The Catti choose able leaders to command their armies when going forth to war; whereas, among the other Germans, that one becomes a leader who is conspicuous for valor among the foremost combatants. (Compare ch. vii.) The infinitive in this clause and in those that follow is very abrupt, but at the same time very characteristic of Tacitus. It is not, of course, the historical infinitive, since the present would be required here, not the imperfect. Neither is there an ellipsis of *solent*, as Jacobs supposes. The infinitives in question depend, in fact, on what immediately precedes, each clause being epexegetical of *multum rationis ac sollertiæ.*

Audire. "To obey."—*Nosse.* "To keep."—*Intelligere occasiones.* "To know how to avail themselves of fitting opportunities." (Compare *Agric.*, 14, 18, 27.)—*Differre impetus.* "To restrain impetuous movements." The other Germans were wont to rush rashly on the foe; the Catti, on the contrary, acted with circumspection and judgment, and delayed an attack wherever such delay seemed to promise good results.—*Disponere diem, vallare noctem.* "To assign to each part of the day its proper duty, to fortify themselves during the night." Literally, "to distribute the day, to entrench the night." Grammarians rank this form of expression under the Prosopopœia of Time. (Compare the remarks of Bötticher, p. lv.)

Nec nisi Romanæ disciplinæ concessum. In the age of Tacitus, the wars carried on by the Romans were only against undisciplined barbarians; so that order and discipline might, with some reason, be claimed as peculiar to the Romans. (*Dilthey, ad loc.*) We have

given here *Romanæ*, with Orelli, Walch, Selling, and others. The common reading is *nec nisi ratione disciplinæ concessum*, "nor conceded save by the steady operation of discipline," *i. e.*, and only a consequence of discipline.

Ferramentis. "With iron tools," *i. e.*, axes, spades, pickaxes, &c. —*Copiis.* "Provisions."—*Alios ad prælium ire videas.* "You may see others going forth merely to a single battle." Other nations of the Germans think only of the first battle; the Catti, on the contrary, adopt a regular plan of operations for an entire campaign, and hence excursions and skirmishes (*fortuitæ pugnæ*) are of rare occurrence among them.

Cito cedere. "Quickly to lose one." Literally, "quickly to retire (from one)." This is well exemplified by the case of the ancient Parthians and modern Cossacks.—*Velocitas juxta formidinem*, &c. "Rapid movements border upon fear, deliberate ones are more akin to steady valor." The meaning of the whole passage is this: the strength of the Catti consisting in infantry, they can not engage to any great extent in equestrian encounters, &c., but then there is an advantage connected with such a state of things, since equestrian conflicts are uncertain, and marked by sudden changes of fortune, whereas the steady movements of infantry are more generally crowned with lasting success.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Et aliis Germanorum populis, &c. "What among other tribes of the Germans is usually done through rare and individual daring, among the Catti has become a matter of common consent," *i. e.*, has become a regular and received custom. Literally, "through rare and private daring on the part of each individual."—*Vertit.* For *conversum est.* Many transitive verbs, especially such as express motion, are used either intransitively or for passives. The common explanation of this has been to supply the personal pronoun or some substantive; but this is both unfounded and unnecessary. (Consult *Sanct. Minerv.*, iii., 2, 1; *Kühner, G. G.*, § 360, *ed Jelf; Bentley, ad Horat., Carm.*, iv., 10, 5.)

Votivum obligatumque virtuti. "The result of a vow, and by which they have bound themselves to a life of daring."—*Revelant frontem.* "They unveil the countenance," *i. e.*, by cutting their hair and shaving their beard. This custom stands in singular opposition to the ordinary usage among the Germans of regarding

long hair as a badge of valor and honorable distinction, and the loss of it as the reverse. (Compare *Dilthey, ad loc.*)—*Pretia nascendi rettulisse.* "Have paid the debt of their birth," *i. e.*, the debt they owed to their country and parents for having been born.

Squalor. "Their squalid disguise."—*Fortissimus quisque ferreum,* &c. It was very common in the middle ages for those who were under a vow of penance to wear an iron ring till they had fulfilled it.—*Ignominiosum id genti.* "It is a mark of ignominy with that nation." Literally, "unto the nation." The iron ring seems to have been a badge of slavery. Various attempts have been made to alter the text here, but, if we make the clause parenthetical, every difficulty disappears.—*Plurimis Cattorum,* &c. "This condition of visage possesses lasting charms for very many of the Catti," *i. e.*, they retain this appearance even after they have slain an enemy, as though they were bound by a vow from which they could only be released by death.—*Jamque canent insignes.* "And at last they grow hoary under the mark."

Hæc prima semper acies visu torva. "These always form the front line, stern of aspect." We have adopted *torva* here, with the Bipont editor, Oberlin, Bekker, and others. The ordinary reading is *nova*, which is inconsistent with what is given in the next sentence as the reason; and, therefore, some editors, who retain *nova*, think that for *nam* we should read *quamquam*, which would be written in the MSS. *q'q'm*, from which, according to them, *nam* may have arisen. This, however, would be a desperate expedient. The change of *nova* to *torva* is much neater, and is in full accordance, also, with the *vultu mitiore* of the subsequent sentence.—*Donec exsanguis senectus,* &c. "Until exhausted old age renders them unequal to so rigorous a career of valor."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Certum jam alveo. "Now settled in its channel." Literally, "now certain (*i. e.*, to be relied upon) in what relates to the bed of the river." The reference is to the quarter where the stream is now confined within fixed limits, and does not form so many branches and lakes as in the country of the Batavi.—*Usipii ac Tencteri.* These two tribes generally go together in geography and history. They frequently changed their settlements. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Super solitum bellorum decus.* "In addition to the warlike reputation usual (with the German race)." Supply *ceteris Germanis* after *solitum.*—*Equestris disciplinæ arte præcellunt.*

Compare the account given by Cæsar of the superiority of the German cavalry. (*B. G.*, iv., 2, 11, 12, 16.)

Sic instituere majores, &c. "Their forefathers thus established, posterity imitate, the custom."—*Hæc juvenum æmulatio.* "This is the point of emulation among the youth."—*Inter familiam et penates.* "Along with the household and household gods." By *familia* is here meant the dwelling and all things connected with it, furniture, slaves, &c. Compare *Weishaupt, ad loc.*—*Excipit.* "Inherits (them)." Literally, "receives them," *i. e.*, by inheritance; so that *excipit* is here equivalent to *hæreditate accipit*, and there is an ellipsis of *equos.*—*Sed prout ferox bello et melior.* "But according as he is fierce in war, and superior (in this respect to the rest)." There is no tautology here, as some suppose. Compare the explanation of Walther: "*Excipit equos ferox bello inter non feroces: inter feroces excipit ferocior sive melior.*"

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Bructeri . . . . . Chamavos et Angrivarios. As regards these several tribes, consult Geographical Index.—*Occurrebant.* "Met the view." Supply *oculis* or *euntibus*, and compare *Columella*, ii., 2, where the full form is given: "*oculis ejus tot paludes, tot etiam campi salinarum occurrerent.*"—*Penitus excisis.* Tacitus is most probably mistaken in asserting that the Bructeri were entirely extirpated; for we find the Roman commander, Spurinna, engaged with them in the reign of Trajan; and in later times they appear as a powerful people among the Franks. Their name was finally lost when they were overpowered by the Saxons. It appears for the last time in a letter of Pope Gregory III., about the year 720, when they are called *Borthari.*

Nam ne spectaculo quidem, &c. "For they did not begrudge us even in the matter of allowing us to be spectators of a battle." Observe that *spectaculo* is here in the ablative, and that *invidere* governs a dative of the person. If the meaning had been, "for they did not begrudge us even the spectacle of a battle," the accusative, *spectaculum*, would have been employed.—*Oblectationi oculisque.* "For our entertainment, and the mere pleasure of the spectacle." Not equivalent merely to *oblectationi oculorum*, by a so-called hendiadys, but a much stronger form of expression. (Compare the remarks of Bötticher, p. xlvi.) The conflict alluded to in the text is supposed to have taken place near the Canal of Drusus (*Fossa Drusiana*), from which quarter the Roman garrison could be spectators

of it, and the time to have been the first year of the reign of Trajan. (*Brotier, ad loc.*)

Maneat, quæso, duretque, &c. "May, I entreat, if not an affection for us, yet at least a feeling of animosity against each other remain and continue strongly seated in the nations," *i. e.*, remain and long continue to remain. Observe that *quæso* has properly an ellipsis of *deos*, and compare *Terent. Andr.*, iii., 2, 7. Observe, moreover, that *duret* rises in strength above *maneat.*—*Urgentibus imperii fatis.* "While the fate of the empire is (thus) urgent," *i. e.*, in the present critical condition of the empire. As this treatise was written in the reign of Trajan, when the affairs of the Romans appeared unusually prosperous, some critics have imagined that Tacitus wrote *vigentibus*, "flourishing," instead of *urgentibus*. But it is sufficiently evident, from other passages, that the causes which were operating gradually, but surely, to the destruction of the Roman Empire, did not escape the penetration of Tacitus, even when disguised by the most flattering appearances. The common reading, therefore, must stand. (*Aikin, ad loc.*)—*Hostium.* "On the part of our foes"

CHAPTER XXXIV.

A tergo cludunt. "Shut in from behind," *i. e.*, on the east.—*Dulgibini.* This tribe belonged to the race of the Cherusci, and were apparently driven eastward by the same irruption of the Cauci as that which expelled the Angrivarii. (Consult Geographical Index.) —*Chasuari.* These were also a tribe of the Cherusci, and were conquered by Tiberius and Germanicus. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Aliæque gentes.* The Ansibarii, Tubantes, Turonii, Nertereani, Danduti, Marvingi, &c. (*Dilthey, ad loc.*) Of these nations little, if any thing, is known. The last four are named by Ptolemy alone.—*Frisii.* The *Frisii majores* dwelt in what is now West Friesland and Gröningen; the *Frisii minores* in Oberyssel, Gelders, Utrecht, and the greater part of the province of Holland. (Consult Geographical Index.)

Rheno prætexuntur. "Are bordered in front by the Rhine," *i. e.*, the settlements of both stretch along the Rhine.—*Immensos lacus.* Anciently this country was covered by large lakes, which were made still larger by frequent inundations of the sea. Since the inundation, however, of 1569, which submerged almost all Friesland, the *Zuyder Zee* has taken the place of most of them.—*Romanis classibus navigatos.* (Compare *Ann.*, i., 70; ii., 5.)—*Ipsum quin etiam oceanum*, &c. "Nay, we have even explored the ocean in that quarter."

With *illa*, supply *regione*. Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus explored this sea. Drusus is said to have penetrated also into the Sinus Dollarius, at the mouth of the Amisia, or *Ems*. Tiberius navigated the Albis, or *Elbe*. The shipwreck of the fleet of Germanicus proved likewise a source of discovery, and, according to Mannert (*Geogr.*, iii., p. 91), pointed out to navigators the way to the Baltic. On the expedition of Drusus in Northern Germany, consult the Memoir of *Wilhelm*, in *Kruse's Deutsche Alterth.*, ii., 1.

Herculis columnas. Besides the well-known Pillars of Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar, the ancient writers speak of similar ones in the north; a tradition which arose, in all probability, from the existence of similar natural features in that quarter. Where, however, the northern promontories were that received this name has never been satisfactorily ascertained. It is generally supposed, however, that the legend points to the *Sound*, between Denmark and Sweden. (Compare *Dilthey*, *ad loc.*, and *Ukert*, *Geogr.*, i., p. 216.)—*Sive adiit Hercules.* On the legend of the wanderings of Hercules in the ocean, consult *Pherecyd.*, *ap. Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod.*, iv., 1396, and *Steph. Byz.*, *s. v.* Θρᾴκη.

Druso Germanico. Mentioned in a preceding note by the name of Drusus merely, which is his more usual appellation. He was the brother of Tiberius, and step-son of Augustus. The younger Drusus was the son of Tiberius.—*Mox nemo tentavit.* Editors generally interpret this as meaning that no one after Drusus ventured upon this sea, and, accordingly, are puzzled to reconcile this with what Tacitus says in his Annals (ii., 6, 23, 24). This arises from misunderstanding the meaning of *mox*, which, so far from signifying that no one sailed on this sea after Drusus, implies that some one did so, but that the expeditions of the Romans in this quarter were soon abandoned. The other sense would require *postea*.

Sanctiusque ac reverentius, &c. "And it seemed more pious and reverential to entertain a belief concerning the actions of the gods, than to seek to become actually acquainted with them," *i. e.*, to believe in the present instance that Hercules actually visited the north, and that pillars erected by him do really exist in this quarter, than to seek to ascertain their precise position.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Novimus. "We have examined."—*Ingenti flexu.* This bend is formed by the Cimbric Chersonese, or modern *Jutland*, which Tacitus conceived to be rather curved and round than angular and

pointed.—*Caucorum gens.* The Cauci dwelt along the ocean, from the Amisia (*Ems*) to the Albis (*Elbe*), and reached southward somewhat below what is now *East Friesland*, *Oldenburg*, and *Bremen*, although along the Visurgis (*Weser*) these boundaries often changed. Their name is still preserved in that of their harbor, *Cuxhaven*. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Lateribus obtenditur.* "Is stretched along the flanks," *i. e.*, stretches so far as to border upon.—*Donec in Cattos usque sinuetur.* "Until it bends round even unto the Catti," *i. e.*, until it bends around so far as to meet the territories of the Catti.

Sed et implent. Ptolemy (ii., 11) mentions, as their towns, *Φαβίρανον* (*Brema* or *Varel*), *Λεύφανα* (*Lüneberg*, *Lauenberg*, *Buxtehuda*, or *Lübbethene*), Τεκέλια (*Oldenbrook*, *Elsfleth*, or *Zetel*), Τουλίφουρδον (*Verda*, or *Döhlbergen*), Σιατουτάνδα (*Utende*), and Τευδέριον (*Detern*).

Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia. "Without ambition, without ungoverned desires." Observe that *impotentia* is here equivalent to *impotentia sui*, and denotes a want of command over one's passions. —*Nulla provocant bella.* "They provoke no wars." (Compare *Hist.*, ii., 61; *Agric.*, 42.)—*Idque præcipuum virtutis*, &c. "And this fact is a principal proof of their valor and prowess, that they do not acquire their superiority by any acts of injustice." Observe that *ut superiores agant* is an expression borrowed from the language of the stage, in which *agere aliquem* is the same as *partes alicujus agere*, "to represent or exhibit any character," &c.

Ac, si res poscat, exercitus. Some editors read *ac, si res poscat exercitus, plurimum virorum*, &c. But this is contrary to the usage of Tacitus, who always employs the formula *si res poscat* absolutely, and without any case attached to show what is required or demanded.—*Et quiescentibus eadem fama.* "And they enjoy the same renown even in inaction," *i. e.*, their warlike reputation is not at all injured by their pacific spirit.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Cherusci. The tribe of the Cherusci must be carefully distinguished from the league of the Cherusci. The latter included the Cherusci, Dulgibini, Ansibarii, Chasuari, Chamavi, Tubantes, and Marsi. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem*, &c. "Long cherished, from their being unattacked by any foe, a too lasting and enfeebling state of repose."—*Impotentes.* Equivalent to *impotentes sui*. (Compare note on *impotentia* in the preceding chapter.)—*Ubi manu agitur*, &c. "When matters are

decided by the sword, moderation and mildness are terms belonging to the victor," *i. e.*, moderation and mildness are ascribed, not to the weak and inactive, but to those who possess the power of injuring their neighbors without abusing it.

Boni æquique Cherusci. Some derive the name from an old word *cherusk*, meaning "just". (*Ruperti, ad loc.*)—*Nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur.* The name here referred to is *Thuringi* (Thuringer), from *thoring*, "stupid."—*Cattis victoribus.* Compare *Ann.*, xii., 28; *Dio Cass.*, lxvii., 5.—*Fortuna in sapientiam cessit.* "Their good fortune has passed for wisdom." The meaning of the whole passage is this: The success of the Catti, which was due to their good fortune, has, since they gained the mastery, been placed to the account of their wisdom.

Tracti ruina Cheruscorum. "Were involved in the ruin of the Cherusci." Literally, "were dragged down by the ruin of the Cherusci." The earlier editions, and, among more modern ones, those of Passow, Hess, and Walch, have *tacti* instead of *tracti*, which will make the allusion a figurative one to a contagious disease. But *tracti* is a much stronger form of expression.—*Fosi.* The name of this tribe is connected by Leibnitz with that of the River *Fuse*, which flows into the *Aller* near *Zelle*. They were annihilated by the Langobardi.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Eundem Germaniæ sinum. "This same bend of Germany," *i. e.*, this same quarter of Germany, which bends, as just stated, to the north. The reference is to the *ingens flexus* mentioned at the beginning of chapter xxxv.—*Cimbri.* The Cimbri never dwelt in the quarter here assigned them by Tacitus, namely, on the Cimbric Chersonese, or modern *Jutland.* Their real country lay, probably, on the northeast side of Germany. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Parva nunc civitas.* No state of the Cimbri existed here, as we have just remarked. Tacitus was misled by some vague report.—*Utraque ripa castra ac spatia.* "Encampments, namely, and lines on either bank." Another vague statement, and which has given rise, of course, to a great diversity of opinions. Brotier and others refer *utraque ripa* to both shores of the Cimbric Chersonese. Cluver and Dithmar, on the other hand, suppose that these encampments are to be sought for either in Italy, upon the River Athesis (*Adige*), or in Gallia Narbonensis, near Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*), where Florus (iii., 3) mentions that the Teutones, defeated by Marius, took post

in a valley with a river running through it. According, however, to the established *usus loquendi*, the reference must be either to the Rhine or the Danube, most probably the former. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that *ripa*, as here employed, is a very general term, and does not limit the meaning to the immediate banks of either river.

Quorum ambitu, &c. "From the compass of which you may now, also, estimate the strength and numbers of the nation, and the degree of credit due to the account of so great an emigration," *i. e.*, the account generally given of the vast numbers of the Cimbri that poured down upon southern Europe.—*Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum*, &c. This date corresponds to B.C. 114, but the more correct date is 641 A.U.C., or B.C. 113, in which latter year, not in B.C. 114, Metellus and Carbo were consuls. (*Dilthey, ad loc.*)—*Audita sunt arma.* It was in this year that the Cimbri first appeared in Noricum, in the northeast of the Adriatic, and on the banks of the Danube.

Ad alterum imperatoris Trajani, &c. Trajan was five times consul, the second time (the period here meant) in A.D. 98, in which same year Nerva died, and Trajan ascended the throne. The present tense, here employed by Tacitus, shows that the latter was engaged in writing this work at the time he speaks of, namely, A.D. 98.—*Colliguntur.* "Are comprised."—*Tamdiu Germania vincitur.* "For so long a space of time is Germany getting conquered," *i. e.*, during so long a period has Germany withstood the arms of Rome.

Medio tam longi ævi spatio, &c. "During the interval of so long a period."—*Non Samnis.* "Not the Samnite," *i. e.*, not the nation of the Samnites. Observe the synecdoche. The struggle between the Samnites and the Romans was a fierce and obstinate one, and in the defiles of Caudium (*Furcæ Caudinæ*) a Roman army was compelled to pass under the yoke. (*Liv.*, ix., 2.)—*Pœni.* Alluding to the disastrous defeats inflicted by Hannibal.—*Hispaniæ.* "The Spains," *i. e.*, the two divisions of Hispania, namely, *Tarraconensis* and *Bætica.* The Iberus formed the boundary between these. Wars were carried on in these two provinces by the Romans against the Carthaginians, Viriathus, the Numantines, Sertorius, and others.

Galliæ. "The Gauls," *i. e.*, Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul.—*Parthi.* Alluding particularly to the overthrow of Crassus, and the check received by Marc Antony.—*Sæpius admonuere.* "Have more frequently reminded us (that we are not invincible)." We have here an ellipsis more in thought than in word. Compare the explanation of Longolius, "*admonuere*, scil. nos cladibus, nos vinci

posse."—*Quippe regno Arsacis*, &c. "No doubt because the impatience of control which characterizes the Germans is more vigorous than the despotism of Arsaces," *i. e.*, proves a greater stimulus to exertion. Observe that *regno Arsacis* is the same as *regno Parthico*, the monarchs of Parthia being in the time of Tacitus of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, so called from Arsaces, the founder of the empire.

Quid enim aliud, &c. "For what else has the East, humbled beneath a Ventidius, Pacorus himself also having been lost, to boast of against us, save the slaughter of Crassus?" Crassus was defeated and slain by the Parthians, B.C. 53. After the defeat of P. Decidius Saxa, lieutenant of Syria, by the Parthians, and the seizure of Syria by Pacorus, son of King Orodes, P. Ventidius Bassus, having been sent thither by Marc Antony, slew Pacorus, and completely restored the Roman affairs. Ventidius himself, however, was a man of very inferior ability, and of very low origin, having been originally a mule-driver; and he had risen to the command of the Roman armies in this quarter solely through the favor of Antony, whom he joined with three legions after the battle of Mutina. Hence the peculiar force of *dejectus infra*, as implying that the once haughty empire of the Parthians had been brought so low as to be compelled to yield to the arms of a Ventidius. (*Dilthey, ad loc.*)

At Germani Carbone, &c. Cn. Papirius Carbo was defeated by the Cimbri at Noreia, B.C. 113 (*Liv.*, *Ep.*, 63); L. Cassius Longinus (B.C. 107) was sent under the yoke and slain by the Tigurini, who had joined themselves to the Cimbri. (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 7, 12; *Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 12); M. Aurelius Scaurus, the same year, was defeated and taken prisoner by the Cimbri, and put to death by Boiorix, a chief, or, as Livy styles him, a furious youth (*ferox juvenis*). He had excited the ire of the barbarians by advising them not to enter Italy, assuring them that the Romans were invincible. (*Liv.*, *Ep.*, 67; *Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 12.) Q. Servilius Cæpio and Cn. Manlius (B.C. 105), through their rashness and dissensions, suffered a severe defeat from the Cimbri, near Tolosa. (*Liv.*, *Ep.*, 67; *Vell. Paterc.*, ii., 12; *Val. Max.*, iv., 7; *Plut.*, *Mar.*, ii.)—*Cnæo quoque Manlio.* All the old MSS. and editions have *M. quoque Manlio*. *Cn.* and *M.* are frequently confounded in the MSS. In the present instance, however, the true reading is *Cnæo*, since it had been decreed after the death of M. Manlius Capitolinus, who was accused by the patrician party of aiming at royal power, that no one of this family should bear the name of *Marcus*. (*Liv.*, vi., 20; *Cic.*, *Phil.*, i., 13.)

Varum. The reference is to P. Quintilius Varus, who was de-

feated by the Germans under Arminius, in the upper valley of the Lippe, then covered with the deep wood of the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis*, or Teutoburger Wald. Varus fell on his own sword; those who were taken alive were sacrificed at altars in the forest to the gods of the country; and the legions were cut to pieces, with the exception of a very small body, who broke through the Germans and made their way to the Rhine. (Consult *Ann.*, i., 59, *seqq.*; and ii., 9, *seqq.*) By this defeat the Roman conquests east of the Rhine were lost.—*Cæsari.* Augustus Cæsar is meant. The consternation felt at Rome, when the news of this defeat reached the capital, is well known. (Compare *Suet.*, *Aug.*, 23.)

Impune. "Without loss."—*Caius Marius in Italia.* The allusion is to the famous defeat of the Cimbri, in the Raudii Campi, near Vercellæ, and westward of Mediolanum, by the combined forces of Marius and Catulus. Marius had previously defeated the Teutones and Ambrones at Aquæ Sextiæ (*Aix*), in Gaul.—*Divus Julius in Gallia.* For the campaigns of Julius Cæsar against the Germans, consult *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 32, *seqq.*; ii., 1, *seqq.*; iv., 1, *seqq.*; vi., 9, *seqq.*—*Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus.* By Drusus is here meant Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius, and by Nero, Tiberius himself, whose full name was Claudius Tiberius Nero Drusus. Germanicus was the son of Drusus, and nephew of Tiberius. Observe the change of the conjunction *ac* in this sentence, because Drusus and Nero were more on an equality with one another as brothers, than with Germanicus.—*In suis sedibus.* For an account of the expedition of Drusus, &c., consult Geographical Index, *s. v.* Germani.

Mox. A.D. 39.—*Caii Cæsaris.* Caligula is meant, whose historical name was Caius Cæsar, or, more fully, Caius Julius Cæsar Germanicus.—*In ludibrium versæ.* "Terminated in ridicule." He marched with a large army (A.D. 39) against the Germans, and, when he came to the Rhine, he ordered some of the Germans who served in his body-guard to cross the river and hide themselves. He then caused messengers to bring him information that the enemy was there. When this was done, he suddenly sprang up from his meal, and with a detachment of his guards hurried across the river, cut down some trees, and in the evening returned with the Germans, whom he had found in their hiding-place, and whom he treated as prisoners of war. (Compare *Suet.*, *Calig.*, 45, *seqq.*; *Dio Cass.*, lix., 25.)

Inde otium. During the reigns of Claudius and Nero. But compare *Ann.*, xi., 18, *seqq.*; xii., 27, *seqq.*; and *Suet.*, *Claud.*, 24.—*Civilium armorum.* The wars carried on by Galba, Otho, Vitellius,

and Vespasian.—*Expugnatis legionum hibernis.* This was done in A.D. 69, by the Batavi under Claudius Civilis. (*Hist.*, iv., 12, *seqq.*; v., 20.)—*Etiam Gallias adfectavere.* "They even aimed at the possession of the Gauls."—*Proximis his temporibus.* "In these latter times," *i. e.*, not only in the reign of Domitian, but also in the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.

Triumphati magis quam victi sunt. (Compare *Agric.*, 39; *Pers.*, vi., 43, *seqq.*; *Suet.*, *Calig.*, 47.)—The cognomen of *Germanicus* and the honor of a triumph were frequently, out of flattery, conferred on the emperors, on their sons and favorites; sometimes, as in the case of Caligula and Domitian, upon men who had never even seen the enemy (*μηδ' ἑωρακώς που πολέμιον. Dio Cass.*, lxvii., 4). Compare *Dilthey*, *ad loc.*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Suevis. According to Tacitus, the Suevi possessed all the land from the banks of the Danube northward to the Baltic Sea, between the Elbe and the Vistula. Cæsar, on the other hand, makes their possessions extend to the Rhine, along the north bank of the Mœnus. The reason of this was probably owing to the fact that, on the north side of the Mœnus, an army of Suevi had come to the aid of Ariovistus, which afterward retired. (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 37, 54; iv., 1, *seqq.*) The Catti were the tribe unto which Cæsar gave the name of Suevi. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Propriis adhuc nationibus*, &c. "Distinguished from one another up to the present time by particular nations and names." The different nations into which the Suevi were divided are enumerated from chapter xxxix. to xlv., both inclusive.—*In commune.* "In common." An expression belonging to the silver age of Latinity.

Insigne gentis, &c. "It is a badge of the race to turn back the hair over the head, and to fasten it up in a knot," *i. e*, not to leave the hair hanging down straight, but to turn or comb it back, &c. The knot into which the hair was formed was not on the top, but at the back part of the head.—*Substringere.* Properly, "to bind below or under," and hence, "to bind from below," or, in other words, "to bind or tie up." It is a poetic term, and belongs to the silver age of Latinity.—*A ceteris Germanis.* Other ancient writers, however, make this mode of wearing the hair a badge of the Germans in general. Dilthey compares *Seneca, de Ira*, iii., 26, and *Juvenal*, xiii., 164.—*Separantur.* "Are distinguished."—*A servis.* The slaves wore the hair cut close and short, as was the custom afterward

with this class of persons among the Franks. Long hair was the badge of a freeman. (Compare *Greg. Turon.*, iii., 8; *Leg. Burgund.*, vi., 4; *Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 284.)

Apud Suevos usque ad canitiem, &c. "Among the Suevi they put back their bristly locks even up to the time of hoary hairs, and frequently bind them into a knot on the very crown." Literally, "they follow back," an expression which has given rise to a great diversity of opinion, but which appears to mean nothing more than a constant and pains-taking habit of putting back both the individual and collected hairs. Consult *Walther, ad loc.*, where various interpretations are given, and compare *Bötticher, Lex. Tac., s. v.* sequi.—*Ipso solo vertice.* By *solo vertice* is meant "the crown alone," an expression strengthened by the term *ipso*, and to be compared with the Greek *αὐτὸς μόνος*. Observe, moreover, that the old men wear this knot of hair on the crown, the others at the back of the head.

Ea cura formæ, sed innoxia. "Such is their attention to personal appearance, though a harmless one," *i. e.*, though not springing from the same corrupt motives as among the Romans. A less forcible reading is *innoxiæ.*—*In altitudinem quamdam et terrorem*, &c. "Decked in this way, when about to proceed to wars, to make themselves appear taller, and thus strike terror, they are adorned, as it were, for the eyes of their foes," *i. e.*, to conquer by the very view. Compare chapter xliii., as cited by Dilthey, "*nam primi in omnibus prœliis oculi vincuntur.*"

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Vetustissimos. Earlier writers more frequently employ *vetustus* in an unfavorable sense, as in *Cic.*, *Brut.*, 21, "*sed multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille.*" Tacitus, however, uses it in almost the same signification as *vetus*. (*Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, p. 488.)—*Semnones.* They lived between the Elbe and the Oder, inhabiting the tract which comprises what is now *Mecklenburg* and *Brandenburg*, with part of *Saxony*, *Bohemia*, *Lusatia*, *Silesia*, and *Poland*. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Fides antiquitatis*, &c. "The belief in their antiquity is strengthened by a religious observance (prevalent among them)." Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "*Ut credamus gentem antiquam esse, etiam religionis ratio suadet.*" The observance in question was connected with a human sacrifice, a rite belonging properly to the earliest times.

In silvam. This wood is supposed to be the *Sonnewald* and *Finsterwald*, between the *Elster* and the *Spree.*—*Auguriis patrum et*

prisca formidine sacram. "Consecrated by the auguries of their forefathers, and the awe-inspiring associations of former times." These words form an hexameter line. Compare also *Ann.*, i., 1. — *Cæsoque publice homine.* Compare chapter ix. Some commentators suppose that Tacitus alludes to this in what he says in that same chapter, "*Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat.*"—*Primordia.* The human sacrifice formed the beginning of the rite; what the remainder of the ceremony was our author does not inform us.

Est et alia luco reverentia. "There is also another mark of reverential homage paid unto the grove."—*Ut minor.* "As an inferior being." Compare the usage of the Greek language in the case of ἥττων, and also *Ann.*, xv., 16; *Hor.*, *Ep.*, i., 10, 35. The chain indicates that the wearer regards himself as the slave of the deity.—*Et potestatem numinis*, &c. "And displaying in his own person the power of the divinity," *i. e.*, in the chain that fetters him.

Evolvuntur. "They roll themselves out." Compare note on *miscetur*, chapter i.—*Eo respicit.* "Has reference to this," *i. e.*, has this import, has this object in view.—*Inde.* "From this spot," *i. e.*, the sacred grove. They believed in the autochthonous origin of their race.—*Adjicit auctoritatem.* Supply *superstitioni illi.* Observe that *adjicere* is also used absolutely, meaning "to increase."

Centum pagis habitant. Cæsar (*B. G.*, i., 37; iv., 1) says the same of the Suevi. Both writers probably only drew their information from some vague traditions. Mannert contends that *Semnones* was not the name of any particular tribe, but a common one, like that of Suevi, and applied to the northern branches of the latter people. The name does not occur in history after the reign of Antoninus Pius. (*Mannert, Geogr.*, iii., p. 331, *seqq.*)

Magnoque corpore. Supply *civitatis.* Compare *Hist.*, iv., 64; *Liv.*, xxvi., 16; xxxiv., 8.

CHAPTER XL.

Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. "On the other hand, their paucity of numbers ennobles the Langobardi," *i. e.*, because, though few in number, they maintained their ground against the tribes by whom they were surrounded (the Cherusci, Marcomanni, Semnones, Hermunduri, Cauci, and Marsi), "not by obsequious submission" to their neighbors, "but by battles and daring."—*Langobardos.* The Langobardi frequently changed their settlements. At first they dwelt in the neighborhood of the Lower Elbe, in the tract now called *Bardengau*, between Magdeburg, Lüneburg, and Hamburg, where the

town of *Bardwick* stands, and in which quarter they were subdued by Tiberius. (Consult Geographical Index.)

Reudigni deinde et Aviones. The position of these two tribes is uncertain. They probably lived near Lüneburg.—*Angli.* The Angli are not mentioned in the expeditions of Drusus and Tiberius, and, therefore, probably were at that time on the east of the Elbe. Ptolemy places them on the west, in what is now *Magdeburg.* Their name does not appear separately in history till they joined the Saxons in the conquest of Britain. Part of them remained behind in Denmark, where a tract of land in Schleswig still bears the name of Angeln.—*Varini et Eudoses*, &c. For an account of these tribes, consult Geographical Index.

Hertham. The MSS. and earlier editions have *Nerthum*, which Rhenanus (in 1519) corrected into *Herthum*, and Oberlin, finally, into *Hertham.* Passow, Hesse, Dilthey, and others, have restored *Nerthum;* Hack retains *Herthum;* while Bekker, Walch, &c., give the preference to *Hertham*, which appears, on the whole, the better reading. The word is manifestly the same as the German *Erde* and the English *Earth*, and its more Germanic form was probably *Ærth-a*, with the Latin declension-suffix. Consult *Klemm, Germ. Alterthumsk.*, p. 286, and the work of Barth, "*Hertha.*" Augs., 1818, 8vo.

Eamque intervenire rebus hominum, &c. "And they think that she takes part in the affairs of men, that she visits the different nations." Literally, "that she bears herself among the nations." Observe that *populis* is here the ablative, not the dative, as some suppose.

In insula oceani. There are various opinions respecting the situation of this island. It is identified by different writers with Rugen, Fosettesland, Mona, Heligoland, Fehmern, Bornholm, Poel, &c., but *Rugen* is most probably the island meant. The wood spoken of seems to be that of *Stubnitz*, and the lake the *Burgsee.* In this forest is a lofty rock, to this day called Hertha's rock, with a lake at the bottom of it, in shape nearly circular, of immense depth, and surrounded by very thick woods. Among the northern nations islands were almost invariably selected for the performance of their religious rites; as was the case with Anglesea, the Isle of Man, Holy Island, Iona, &c.

Castum. "Unpolluted." Nearly all the circumstances mentioned here concerning the worship of Hertha agree with those practiced at the worship of the deity of the earth (called Ceres, Rhea, Ops, Demeter, Cybele, or Isis), in Thrace and Phrygia, by the Cabiri, Corybantes, and Idæi Dactyli. At Pessinus festive days were kept, in

which the image of the goddess was drawn in a car by cows through the towns of Phrygia. (*Virg.*, *Æn.*, vi., 785.) At every place through which she passed sacrifices were offered; and in Italy, after the celebration of her festival, her car was always purified in the waters of the River Almo. Similar customs are observed by the Brahmins, in India, at the festival of Baghawadi.

Is adesse penetrali, &c. "He becomes conscious of the entrance of the goddess into her secret abiding-place," *i. e.*, into the covered vehicle.—*Bubus feminis.* When nouns denoting animals are of the common gender, and the sex of the particular animal is to be stated, the term *mas* or *femina* is added. (*Zumpt*, § 42.)—*Læti tunc dies*, &c. "Then joyous days prevail, then those places are scenes of festivity, whatsoever ones she deems worthy of visiting and being entertained in." Compare Bötticher: "*den ihres Besuches sie und gastlichen Verweilens würdigt.*"

Non bella ineunt. A festival called *Alla manna frith* (*i. e.*, *Allmann's friede*), in which they abstained from war, continued to be celebrated in Gothland even after the introduction of Christianity. —*Pax et quies.* By no means pleonastic. *Pax* refers to foreign wars; *quies*, to internal dissensions.—*Templo.* "To her sacred abode," *i. e.*, to the sacred grove or inclosure. Observe that *templum* is here employed in its primitive meaning, not as implying any building, but merely a space marked out or set apart. Compare the Greek τέμενος, from the same root (τεμ, *cut*) with the verb τέμνω.

Numen ipsum. "The divinity herself." The goddess was feigned to have become polluted by mortal converse, and therefore required ablution. The priests of Cybele washed the statue of the goddess; the Germans, unto whom statues were unknown, believed that the person of the goddess Hertha herself was thus purified.—*Haurit.* "Swallows up." The slaves were drowned in order that the imposture of the priests might not be divulged. The ostensible reason, however, was, that those persons must needs perish who had beheld the goddess herself in her real form.—*Quod tantum perituri vident.* "Which they only see who are destined thereafter to perish," *i. e.*, who, in consequence of seeing, must immediately thereafter perish.

CHAPTER XLI.

In secretiora Germaniæ. "Into the more remote recesses of Germany."—*Propior.* "Nearer (unto us is)." Supply *nobis est.*—*Hermundurorum.* The Hermunduri lived about the sources of the Elbe, in the north of Bohemia. In the name Hermunduri, *Hermun* is

probably not an essential part, but merely marks that they belonged to the Herminones. *Duri* seems to have been their real name, and this root appears with a German ending in *Thur-ingi.* (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Fida Romanis.* Until A.D. 152, when a general conspiracy against the Romans was entered into by the Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatæ, Vandali, Latringes, and Buri.

Non in ripa. "Not on the bank merely." Supply *solum* after *non.* The southern bank of the Danube is meant.—*Penitus.* "Far in the interior."—*Splendidissima Rætiæ provinciæ colonia.* This is generally supposed to be Augusta Vindelicorum, now *Augsburg.*—*Non concupiscentibus.* "Not coveting them," *i. e.*, without exciting their cupidity.—*Notum olim.* Through the expeditions of Drusus, Domitius, and Tiberius.

CHAPTER XLII.

Narisci. Called Varisti (Οὐαριστοί) by Ptolemy, and Nariscæ (Ναρισκαί) by Dio Cassius. They dwelt at the foot of the *Fichtelgebirge.* (*Ptol.*, ii., 11.)—*Marcomanni et Quadi.* Consult Geographical Index.—*Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant.* "Nor do the Narisci or the Quadi fall short (of them in valor)," *i. e.*, nor are they inferior in valor to the Marcomanni. Supply *ab iis virtute* after *degenerant.*—*Eaque Germaniæ velut frons est*, &c. "And this is, as it were, the front of Germany, so far forth as it is formed by the Danube," *i. e.*, so far forth as the Danube forms this front, and separates Germany in this quarter from the Roman possessions. With *peragitur*, which is here to be taken in the sense of *efficitur*, supply *frons* from the previous clause. Passow understands *iter*, which appears much less appropriate. Some editors read *pergitur*, others *porrigitur*, but all the MSS. and earlier editions have *peragitur.*

Nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus. Of Maroboduus mention will be found in the Geographical Index, *s. v.* Marcomanni. Tuder or Tudrus is not mentioned by any other writer but Tacitus, nor by the latter elsewhere than in the present passage. Neither are other kings of the Marcomanni and Quadi spoken of except by writers of a later age; as Attalus (*Aurel. Vict.*) and Queen Fritigil (*Paulinus*) among the Marcomanni: and Phurtius, Ariogæsus (*Dio Cass.*, lxxi., 13), Caiobamarus (*Dio Cass.*, lxxvii., 20), Araharius, Viduarius, Agilimundus, and Gabinius (*Amm. Marcell.*).

Externos reges. As Catualda, Vannius, Vangio, Sido. (*Ann.*, ii., 62, 63; xii., 29, 30.)—*Sed vis et potentia*, &c. Partly on account

of the support afforded them by the Romans against the different factions of their kingdoms; partly because some of them owed their royalty to the Romans.—*Sæpius pecunia.* In point of fact, however, the Romans themselves were sometimes compelled to pay tribute to these princes, as to Decebalus, the King of the Daci, and his allies the Marcomanni and Quadi. (*Dio Cass.*, lxvii., 7; lxviii., 9.) Compare chap. xv., &c.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Retro. "Farther back," *i. e.*, farther from the Danube, and more in the interior.—*Marsigni, Gothini,* &c. Consult Geographical Index.—*Terga cludunt.* "They shut in the rear."—*Referunt.* "Resemble." So *robora parentum liberi referunt* (c. 20).—*Osos Pannonica lingua.* Compare notes on chapter xxviii.—*Sarmatæ.* By the Sarmatæ here are probably meant the Iazyges Metanastæ, who dwelt in the neighborhood of the Quadi, or else the Sidones.

Gothini, quo magis pudeat, &c. Because the iron mines in their country ought to furnish them with arms, with which to assert their freedom. The Greeks and Romans generally employed slaves to work in the mines.—*Pauca campestrium.* "A small extent (only) of level country." Observe the poetical form of expression. The more ordinary one would be *pauca campestria loca.*

Continuum montium jugum. Tacitus does not give us the name of this chain of mountains, but from his description it appears to be identical with the Asciburgian range of Ptolemy, and the modern *Riesengebirge.* — *Lygiorum nomen.* "The nation of the Lygii." Literally, "the name of the Lygii," *i. e.*, the tribes included under the name. (Consult Geographical Index.)—*Arios, Helveconas,* &c. The positions of these subdivisions are not determined with accuracy. For remarks concerning them, consult Geographical Index, *s. v. Arii.*—*Muliebri ornatu.* The priest was probably attired in a flowing robe, which, contrasting as it did with the closely-fitting attire of the Germans in general, was mistaken for a female dress.

Sed deos, interpretatione Romana, &c. "But they say that the gods (worshiped there) are, according to Roman interpretation, Castor and Pollux," *i. e.* writers and travelers inform us, that the gods worshiped in this sacred grove resemble in their attributes, and are the same with the Roman deities Castor and Pollux.—*Ea vis numini,* &c. "This is the power assigned unto their godhead; their name is *Alci*;" *i. e.*, such are the attributes of these divinities, resembling those of the Dioscuri, &c.—*Alcis.* The dative plural

by a well-known Hellenism (*est illis nomen Alcis*), and to be deduced, therefore, from a nominative plural *Alci*, not from such a form as *Alces*, which would make *Alcibus*. Anton derives the name from the Sclavonic *holcz*, "a boy" or "youth," in the plural *holczy*, with which we may compare the well-known epithet of Διόσκοροι, "sons of Jove," applied to Castor and Pollux. (*Anton, Laus. Mon. Schrift*, 1793, i., 22.—*Id.*, *Gesch. der Deutschen Nation*, i., p. 381. Compare *Klemm*, *Germ. Alterthumsk.*, p. 288.)

Venerantur. To be taken transitively: the passive was not in use except in the participle.—*Enumeratos paulo ante populos.* The Marsigni, Gothini, and Osi.—*Insitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur.* "Increase the effect of their innate ferocity by calling art and a particular time to their aid." Literally, "pander to their innate ferocity by means of art and time." *Arte* refers to their black shields and stained bodies; *tempore* to the murky nights chosen for their engagements; "*atras ad prælia noctes legunt.*"

Tincta corpora. "Their bodies are stained," *i. e.*, a dark or sable hue. This practice, which was unusual among the Germans, was probably borrowed from the Sarmatian tribes. (Compare *Herod.*, v., 6.)—*Ipsa formidine*, &c. "By the very alarm (which their aspect occasions), and by the shade-like appearance of their funereal host." The funereal gloom of their sable bands makes these resemble so many spectres.—*Infernum.* "Unearthly."

Gotones. Consult Geographical Index.—*Regnantur.* Consult notes on chap. xxv.—*Paulo adductius.* "With a somewhat tighter rein." A metaphor from drawing in the reins of a steed.—*Supra libertatem.* "To a degree incompatible with freedom." Literally, "above freedom," *i. e.*, rising above and triumphing over it.—*Protinus deinde ab oceano.* "Immediately thereafter in the direction of (and reaching to) the ocean." As regards the peculiar meaning of *ab* in this passage, compare the remarks of Hand (*ad Tursell.*, vol. i., p. 48): "Ab *indicat regionem et statum rei alicujus. Nam ut locum, quem aliqua res obtinet, verbis designemus, ad aliam rem respicere, et utriusque situm vel ex vicinia vel ex distantia concipere solemus. Latini dicebant rem* ab aliqua re stare *et* sitam esse, *ubi intelligebant vel regionem adversam, vel vicinam, vel anteriorem. Reddi igitur potest sensus per* a parte, versus," &c.

Rugii et Lemovii. The Rugii lived between the Oder and Vistula. The island of Rugen probably took its name from them. After the death of Attila, they took possession of part of Austria, Moravia, and Upper Hungary, but in A.D. 480 were either destroyed or dispersed by Odoacer. The Lemovii seem to have dwelt near the town and river of Leba. They are not mentioned elsewhere

CHAPTER XLIV.

Suionum. The Suiones inhabited the south of Sweden, which was supposed by the ancients to be an island.—*Ipso in oceano.* "In the very ocean." The reference is to their supposed insular situation. The ocean meant is the Baltic Sea.—*Eo differt.* "Differs in this respect from that of ours."—*Quod utrimque prora,* &c. Resembling the canoes still used by the Swedes, and by our own aborigines. (Compare *Ann.*, ii., 6.)—*Paratam semper appulsui,* &c. "Affords a front always ready for driving up on the beach."—*Nec ministrantur.* "They are neither worked."—*In ordinem.* "In any regular order." Observe the employment of *in* with the accusative, on account of the idea of movement implied in *adjungunt.*—*Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum,* &c. "Their mode of rowing is without any regularity, as (is practiced) in some rivers, and changes, as occasion requires, on this side or on that." The movement here described is like the paddling of a canoe.—*In quibusdam fluminum.* Pronouns, adjectives, and participles in the plural, joined with a genitive, are of frequent occurrence in Tacitus.

Est apud illos et opibus honos. The wealth here referred to was acquired by traffic. What Tacitus here states relative to their honoring wealth is directly the reverse of what was the case with the other Germans. Of these last our author remarks (chap. v.): "*Possessione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur,*" &c.—*Nullis jam exceptionibus.* The particle *jam* here implies, that as we go further northward the people degenerate more and more from the spirit of liberty which characterized the southern tribes, till at last we come to a people with an absolute ruler.—*Non precario jure parendi.* "With no precarious conditions of allegiance." More freely, "with an absolute claim upon their obedience." *Precarium jus* is a right granted to a person's entreaties. Some editors take *parendi* in a passive sense, and adduce, as parallel instances, *censendi causa* (*Cic.*, *Verr.*, i., 18); *celandi* (*Tibull.*, i., 9, 23). But this is unnecessary.

Nec arma in promiscuo. "Nor are arms (allowed to be kept) promiscuously." Supply *concessa sunt.*—*Et quidem servo.* "And he, too, a slave."—*Oceanus.* Their supposed insular situation.—*Otiosæ porro armatorum manus,* &c. As in the case of the Prætorian soldiers and the Janissaries. Some editors give *otiosa;* but the construction of a singular noun of multitude with a plural verb is only allowable when some clause intervenes and separates them. Such a phrase as *turba ruunt* would be inadmissible.—*Enimvero* . . . . .

regia utilitas est. "In truth, it is the policy of kings." In the previous clause, namely, *otiosæ porro armatorum*, &c., the reason is given why arms are not allowed to all without distinction; and now we have the other reason assigned why the charge of them is intrusted to a slave.

CHAPTER XLV.

Trans Suionas aliud mare, &c. "Beyond the Suiones is another sea, sluggish and almost without any motion," *i. e.*, on account of the ice. (Compare *Agric.*, 10.)—*Hinc.* "From the following circumstance." This refers to what immediately follows, namely, *quod extremus*, &c.—*Quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor*, &c. "Because the last brightness of the now setting sun continues so vivid, until its rising, as to obscure the stars." Compare *Agric.*, 12, "*Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram*," &c. In the age of Pliny and Tacitus the globular form of the earth was well known. (Compare *Plin.*, ii., 64.) And Tacitus considered the earth, though not completely spherical, as a globe at rest in the centre of the universe, with the land completely surrounded by water; as Pliny (ii., 66) says: "*Est igitur in toto globo tellus medio ambitu præcincta circumfluo mari.*" (Compare, also, *Plin.*, ii., 70, 75.) The part of the earth from Britain to the pole Tacitus conceived to be flatter than that from Italy to Britain, since there was no chain of mountains at all to be compared to the Alps; and hence he talks of the *extrema et plana terrarum* (*Agric.*, 12). And as night is nothing else than the shadow of the earth (*Plin.*, ii., 10) rising in the form of a cone, since the body illumined is less than the body that illumines it, the notion entertained by Tacitus is, that at the time of the solstice, when the sun approaches nearer the pole (*Plin.*, ii., 75), and accordingly does not sink far below the horizon, the shadow of the flatter parts of the earth toward the pole can not shroud the whole heavens in darkness (*extrema et plana terrarum non erigunt tenebras*); but the surface of the earth only is darkened, while the sky and stars appear above the shadow, and are illumined by the rays of the sun (*infra cælum et sidera nox cadit*, *Agric.*, 12).

Sonum insuper audiri, &c. "Popular belief adds, that a sound is, moreover, heard," &c. The sound here referred to is not that of the sun hissing as he sinks into the ocean, which, however, was the vulgar belief (compare *Strabo*, iii., p. 138; *Juv.*, xiv., 280), but that produced by the Aurora Borealis; and the *formas deorum et radios capitis* refer likewise to the fanciful shapes assumed by these electrical phenomena. To this source, perhaps, may be traced the

lays of the northern tribes, and of Ossian respecting the Walkyrs, "The ghosts light as the blast of Cromla, the riders of the storm and fiery horses, sitting on low-hung clouds, and moving like the shadow of mist."

Illuc usque, &c. "Thus far only, and report says true, does nature extend." Observe that *tantum* is to be joined in construction with *illuc usque*. For other modes of reading and explaining this much-contested clause, consult Walther's note.—*Ergo jam dextro*, &c. "To return, therefore, now, the tribes of the Æstyi, along the right-hand shore of the Suevic Sea, are washed by its waves." By the Suevic Sea is meant the Baltic. The name of the Æstyi still remains in that of the *Esthen*. They inhabited Prussia, Livonia, and Courland. Some think that their name merely means "the people of the east." (Compare *Meidinger, Etymol. Wörterb.*, p. 508.)—*Lingua Britannicæ propior.* Compare *Agric.*, ii., where a Germanic origin, whether correctly or not is uncertain, is attributed to the Caledonians.

Matrem deum. The *Isis* or *Hertha* of the Suevi, the *Frigga* of the Scandinavians, the *Foseta* of the Cimbri. (Consult *Jacobs, ad loc.*)—*Formas aprorum gestant.* "They carry about them the forms of wild boars," *i. e.*, as amulets. The boar, as the symbol of fecundity, was sacred to Hertha. Amulets of the same kind, with which the Wends used to ornament the images of their deities, have been dug up in the neighborhood of Prilwitch, a town of Mecklenburg. Many remnants of this superstition still remain in Sweden. At the time of the festival anciently celebrated in honor of Frea, the rustics make bread into the form of a hog, which is applied to various superstitious uses.

Pro. "Supplying the place of."—*Frumentum cæterosque fructus*, &c. "They cultivate corn and the other fruits of the earth with more patient industry than might have been expected from the usual indolence of the Germans." Compare chapters xiv., xv.—*Succinum.* "Amber." So called because it was believed to be the sap (*succus*) of a tree.—*Quod ipsi glesum vocant.* "Which they themselves call *glese*," *i. e.*, glass, from its brightness (*gleissen*, "to shine"), like ἤλεκτρον in Greek; from which the *Glesariæ insulæ* (*Electrides* in Greek) received their name. The term *glesum*, it will be perceived, is nothing more than the old German word *glas* or *glaes* Latinized, and converted into a neuter noun. (Consult *Graff, Althochd. Sprachsch.*, iv., col. 288.)—*Inter vada, atque in ipso litore.* On the shores of Pomerania, Curonia, and Prussia; now principally on the coast of Samland, from Pillau to the Curische

Nehrung. It first became known in the south of Europe through the Phœnicians.

Nec, quæ natura, quæve ratio gignat, &c. "Nor has it been inquired into or found out by them, as is usual among barbarians, what may be its nature, or what principle of production may give it birth," *i. e.*, what is its nature or the manner of its production.—*Ejectamenta.* The term *ejectamentum*, here employed, is of rare occurrence. We meet with it also in Apuleius. (*Apol.*, 297.) Tacitus appears partial to words of this termination: thus we have *placamenta* (*Hist.*, i., 13); *meditamenta* (*Hist.*, iv., 26); *turbamenta* (*Hist.*, i., 23); *tentamenta* (*Hist.*, ii., 38); *libramenta* (*Hist.*, iii., 23), &c.—*Donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen.* "Until our luxury gave it a name," *i. e.*, celebrity. This remark must be received with some abatement, since it would appear that amber was certainly held in some degree of estimation by the ancient Germans, at least small balls of this substance strung on horse-hair, and large unwrought pieces have been found in tombs. (*Spangenberg, N. vaterl. Archiv.*, iv., p. 183.—*Klemm, Germ. Alterthumsk.*, p. 22.)

Perfertur. By traders through Pannonia to the Adriatic Sea, and thence to Rome.—*Succum tamen arborum*, &c. The same notion is advanced by Pliny (xxxvii., 2, 3). It has been shown, however, that this opinion, though a common one, is incorrect, and that amber is bituminous in its nature, and is produced under ground.—*Implicata humore.* "Entangled in it while in a liquid state."—*Durescente.* "As it hardens."

Fecundiora igitur nemora, &c. "For my own part, therefore, I believe, that, as in the remote regions of the east, where incense and balsam are exuded, so there are in the islands and lands of the west, woods and groves of more than ordinary luxuriance, the juices of which, squeezed out and rendered liquid by the rays of the sun close to them, flow into the neighboring sea, and are washed up on the opposite shores by the force of tempests." The incense refers to Arabia, the balsam to Judæa and Arabia. (Compare *Virg.*, *Georg.*, i., 57; ii., 117: *Plin.*, xii., 54; xvi., 59: *Pausan.*, ix., 28.) —*Ut in picem resinamve lentescit.* "It resolves itself into a glutinous mass, as if into pitch or resin," *i. e.*, resembling pitch or resin.

Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. "The tribes of the Sitones follow in immediate succession after the Suiones." Observe that *continuari*, in the passive, is sometimes, as in the present instance, equivalent to *proxime hærere*, or *continenter sequi.*—*Sitonum gentes.* According to Mannert, the Sitones and Suiones are merely branches of the same race under different forms of government, the country

of both answering to modern Sweden. Probably, however, the Sitones extended also into Norway. In the fourth century, the Sitones became known in southern countries by the name of *Suethans*, having been carried thither in the way of traffic. (*Augustin, Comment. in Ecclesiast.*, c. 43, v. 2 ; *Jornandes, Get.*, c. 3 ; *Mannert, Geog.*, iii., p. 321.)

In tantum. "To such an extent." So "*in quantum modum*" (*Ann.*, xv., 25) : "*quantum*" (*Ann.*, vi., 21) : "*in quantum.*" (*Juv.*, xiv., 318.)—*Non modo a libertate*, &c. Compare the paraphrase of Pichena : "*Degenerant a libertate, quia ceteri Germani fere omnes liberi, hi servi ; degenerant a servitute, quia servientes populi Regibus, ideoque hominibus, servire solent, hi feminis.*"

CHAPTER XLVI.

Peucinorum, &c. Consult Geographical Index.—*Sede ac domiciliis.* "In fixedness of settlement and in the nature of their dwellings." The settlements and habitations of the Peucini were fixed and stationary ; whereas the Sarmatians wandered about in their wagons.—*Sordes omnium ac torpor.* "Filth and laziness are characteristics of all." A far more natural reading than to place, as some do, a colon after *procerum*, and no stop after *torpor.*—*Procerum connubiis mixtis*, &c. "Through the intermarriage of their chiefs with the Sarmatians, they are gradually assuming the disgusting character of that people."

Ex moribus. Supply *Sarmatarum.*—*Hi tamen inter Germanos*, &c. Ptolemy and others, more correctly, make them a branch of the Sarmatians.—*Domus fingunt.* So "*luteum fingere opus*" (*Ovid, Fast.*, i., 158) ; "*fingere nidos*" (*Cic.*, *de Or.*, ii., 6.) There is another reading, *figunt*, which Walther prefers.—*Quæ omnia diversa*, &c. "All which customs differ from those of the Sarmatæ, living, as they do, in wagons and on horseback." Literally, "all which things are different unto the Sarmatæ."

Fennis. The Fenni are the modern Finns, the inhabitants of Finnland.—*Cubile humus.* "Their couch is the ground." Observe the change of construction. We would naturally have expected *cubili humus*, but the nominative is substituted as more emphatic.—*Ossibus asperant.* "They roughly head with bones." The Siberian tribes, at the present day, employ for a like purpose the bones of fish. Observe, with regard to the verb *aspero*, that it occurs most frequently in the poets and in Tacitus. In Cicero it never appears.

Passim enim comitantur. "For they accompany (their husbands)

every where." Supply *viros.*—*In aliquo ramorum nexu.* "Beneath some interlacing of boughs."—*Ingemere agris, illaborare domibus.* "To groan over fields, to labor upon dwellings," *i. e.*, to groan over the plough, to labor in the erection of dwellings. The verb *illaborare* is here formed after the model of *ingemere.* It nowhere else appears in this meaning, since *illaboratus*, which does occur, has the signification of "not labored," "done without labor."—*Suas alienasque fortunas*, &c. "To keep their own fortunes and those of others in a state of constant disquiet through mingled hope and fear," *i. e.*, to be harassed by the alternate hopes and fears of enriching or ruining themselves and others in trade and traffic.

Securi adversus homines. "Without care and anxiety as regards men." Observe that *securi*, in this and the following clause, must not be rendered "safe." Compare *Agric.*, 9: "*Castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior*," &c., and "*unice securus*" (*Horat.*, *Od.*, i., xxvi., 3.)—*Ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset.* "That they would not need even a wish." Rhenanus conjectured *opus sit* for *opus esset*, and his emendation was adopted by all subsequent editors until the time of Ernesti, who restored *esset*, without, however, assigning a very satisfactory reason. The true reason is this: Tacitus does not mean to say that they *have* no need even of a wish, as if stating a fact; but he gives merely the result of his own reflections, namely, that they *would not* need even a wish, if there were any thing to be actually wished for. Compare the explanation of Walther: "*dass sie auch nicht einmal das Bedürfniss eines Wunsches haben dürften* (scilicet si quid esset optandum)."

Hellusios et Oxionas. Probably the inhabitants of Lapland. The fable here stated may possibly have arisen from their wearing the skins of wild beasts.—*Oxionas.* Tacitus occasionally uses this Greek ending, as in *Helveconas* (chap. xliii.); *Suionas* (chap. xlv.); *Vangionas ac Nemetas* (*Ann.*, xii., 27).—*In medium relinquam.* "I will make a subject of doubt, and leave undecided." Equivalent, as Bötticher correctly remarks, to *in dubium vocatum relinquam in medio.* The preposition *in*, though joined here with the accusative, includes at the same time the idea of the ablative, and the clause may, therefore, be ranked under the head of a syllepsis. (Consult the remarks of Bötticher on the style of Tacitus, p. xlii. of the present volume.)

NOTES

ON

THE AGRICOLA.

NOTES ON THE AGRICOLA.

The composition of this work may be assigned, from internal and external evidence, to the year of Rome 850–1 (A.D. 98–97), four years after Agricola's death. The first three chapters comprise the preface, the substance of which is as follows: In times of yore, when there was no reason, as now, to dread men's ignorance of virtue, and their envy of her votaries, it was usual to hand down to posterity the exploits and characters of famous men; and a man was not found fault with even if he narrated his own life. But in times like these, when we have only lately seen that to praise illustrious men was a capital crime, I must plead for favor and indulgence, which I should not have done had not my path lain through times inimical to virtue, in which even those remain unpunished through whose charges Agricola fell, and through whose means many have been calumniated. At length, however, spirit and liberty are returning, though the desire of writing springs up but gradually and slowly, since talents and zeal may be more quickly smothered and suppressed than roused again to vigor and activity; and sloth, at first the object of our hatred, ends with ingratiating itself into our favor. Hence I am led to hope that I shall meet with excuse for having formed the design of writing this memoir.

CHAPTER I.

Clarorum virorum facta moresque, &c. "To transmit to posterity the exploits and characters of distinguished men, a custom prevalent in early days, not even in our own times has the age, though taking little interest in its own (eminent individuals), entirely neglected, as often as some great and ennobling instance of merit has triumphed over and surmounted a vice common to small and great communities, an insensibility to, and an envying of virtue." Observe that the epithet *clarus* is properly applied to those who are distinguished, not by birth, but by personal merit, as warriors or statesmen.—*Usitatum.* Accusative sing. neut. of the participle, agreeing with the preceding clause.—*Recti.* The term *rectum* here corresponds to

ὀρθόν, *ὀρθότης*, in the Platonic sense. Compare *Auct. ad Herenn.*, iii., 2: "*Rectum, constans ex virtute et officio, dividitur in prudentiam, justitiam, fortitudinem, modestiam.*"—*Ignorantiam recti et invidiam.* Two causes alone can, according to Tacitus, deprive the eminent men of his time of the fame to which their merit is entitled, namely, their contemporaries either deny their claims to distinction, from an ignorance of what is truly great, or else meanly envy them.

Pronum magisque in aperto erat. "Was easy and more unobstructed (than in our own times)." *Pronus* properly means, "bending forward," "inclined," and hence, "easy." It is by no means, however, merely synonymous here with *magis in aperto*, as some suppose. Things are said to be *in aperto* in two ways: first, as regards a becoming acquainted with them, and then they are clear and free from all obscurity; and, secondly, as regards a performing of them, and then they are free from obstruction and impediment. It is in the latter sense that *in aperto* is here used. Peerlkamp conjectures *pronum magis atque in aperto erat*, or *pronum magis magisque in aperto erat*; but *magis* is not required with *pronum*, since this epithet of itself denotes that which inclines more in some particular direction. (Compare *Walther*, *ad loc.*)

Celeberrimus quisque ingenio, &c. Beside Arulenus Rusticus, and Senecio, mentioned in chapter ii., Pliny the elder is named as the biographer of Pomponius Secundus; Claudius Pollio wrote a life of Musonius Bassus (*Plin.*, *Ep.*, vii., 31); and Julius Secundus, a life of Julius Asiaticus. (*Dial. de Or.*, 14.)—*Sine gratia aut ambitione.* "Without predilection or interested motives." The term *ambitio* is not used here in the old Roman sense of an honorable suing for preferment or public favor (as well explained by *Ernesti*, *Clav. Cic.*, *s. v.*, and *Heusinger*, *ad Cic.*, *Off.*, i., 30, 9), but in the unfavorable meaning which it acquired during the silver age, when *ambitio* became a *vitium*, and denoted a desire to gain notoriety, or to promote one's own interests by ministering to the wishes or prejudices of others. (Consult *Walch*, *ad loc.*; *Spalding*, *ad Quintil.*, i., 2, 22; *Bötticher*, *Lex. Tac.*, *s. v.*)

Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, &c. "Many, too, considered it rather as a confidence in their integrity, than as a mark of arrogance, for themselves to write the history of their own lives." Tacitus frequently makes *plerique*, as in the present instance, equivalent merely to *πολλοί*, and not to have its full force of *οἱ πολλοί*.—*Nec id Rutilio et Scauro*, &c. "Nor did this prove, unto a Rutilius and a Scaurus, a ground for withholding full credit, or a source of censure." Compare note on "*citra speciem*:" *Germ.*, c. 16. Ru-

tilius, in addition to a biography of himself, composed a history and some orations. He was lieutenant to Q. Metellus Numidicus, A.U.C. 645. He was accused of bribery by Scaurus, was unjustly condemned, and went into exile at Smyrna, of which place he became a citizen, and refused to return at the invitation of Sylla. M Æmilius Scaurus was consul with M. Cæc. Metellus in A.U.C. 639, and again in 647, and censor in 645. He was one of the commissioners sent into Africa in the Jugurthine war, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Jugurtha. He was a violent opposer of Saturninus; and was charged by Varius with having been instrumental in exciting the revolt of the Italian allies, but was acquitted. (*Cic.*, *Brut.*, 29; *Plin.*, xxxiii., 6.) It is not unlikely that Rutilius, in his voluntary exile, wrote his own life as a defence of his conduct, and that this induced Scaurus to write a biography of himself.

Adeo. "So true it is that." Literally, "to such a degree." Compare *De Lamalle*, "*tant il est vrai que*," &c.

CHAPTER II.

At mihi, nunc narraturo, &c. Though, under Nerva, liberty had again dawned upon Rome, and men's courage had begun to revive, Tacitus had still to fear the malicious accusations of many, who would imagine that, in portraying the crimes of the past age, a side reference was made to their own; and, therefore, at the commencement of his memoir he asks for security against all charges of this kind. This passage may be illustrated from the Annals (iv., 33).—*Ni cursaturus tempora.* "Were I not about to traverse times." A metaphor borrowed from the movements of the circus. Some of the early editions read *ni incursaturus*, from which Lipsius conjectured *ni incusaturus*, and this latter reading has been adopted by several subsequent editors. No change, however, is required in the common text.

Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico, &c. Both occurrences took place in Domitian's reign, A.U.C. 846 or 847. Tacitus was present at the death of Senecio, as we learn from chapter xlv. The reference in *legimus* is to the *Acta Diurna* ("Proceedings of the Day"), a kind of gazette published daily at Rome under the authority of the government, and which contained an account of the proceedings of the public assemblies, of the law courts, of the punishment of offenders, and also a list of births, marriages, deaths, &c. (Consult *Dict. Ant.*, *s. v.*)—*Aruleno Rustico.* Dio Cassius states that Domitian put Arulenus to death because he was a philosopher, and be

cause he had given Thrasea the appellation of "holy" (*καὶ ὅτι τὸν Θρασέαν ἱερὸν ὠνόμαζε. Dio Cass.*, lxvii., 11. Compare *Ann.*, xvi., 25, 26). Among the accusers of Arulenus, M. Regulus was *subscriptor.* The real accuser was Metius Carus.—*Pætus Thrasea.* For the account of the death of this individual under Nero (A.U.C. 820), consult *Ann.*, xvi., 21.—*Herennio Senecioni.* With regard to this individual, consult chapter xlv.—*Priscus Helvidius.* Helvidius Priscus was the son-in-law of Thrasea. (Consult *Hist.*, iv., 5.) He was banished and put to death by Vespasian. (*Suet.*, *Vesp.*, 15; *Masson*, *Vit. Plin.*, p. 15.)

Triumviris. The *Triumviri Capitales* are meant, among whose other duties was that of carrying into effect the sentences of the law, &c. They were attended by eight lictors to execute their orders. Pliny (*Ep.*, vii., 19) says, "*senatus consulto abolitos libros,*" alluding to the present affair; but this contains no contradiction to the narrative of Tacitus, since the decree of the senate would come first, and the burning of the works by the Triumvirs, or, rather, their lictors, would follow. (*Walch*, *ad loc.*)—*In comitio ac foro.* The *comitium* adjoined the *forum*, and was the place of public execution in the time of the emperors. Originally, it was the spot where the Comitia Curiata were held. Compare *Seneca* (*Cont.*, vii., 1): "*Nefas commissum est, ad expiandum scelus Triumviris opus est, comitio, carnifice.*"

Conscientiam generis humani. "The secret convictions of mankind." The term *conscientia* is here employed to denote the knowledge or persuasion of a thing which one has in common with others, or, as Bötticher terms it, "*communis alicujus rei scientia,*" and the idea of Tacitus is well carried out by the Delphin editor: "*cognitio hæc interna et arcana omnium mortalium, quæ simul et secreta ac tacita accusatio fuit scelerum Domitiani: quæ conscientia ad tempus cohibita vi dominationis, pressaque silentio, tandem erumperet.*"—*Expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus*, &c. Eusebius mentions that the philosophers (who are here meant by *sapientiæ professores*) were twice expelled by Domitian, first in A.D. 89, and again in A.D. 96. That Tacitus refers to the latter of these occasions, is evident from chap. xlv., and from Dio Cassius (lxvii., 13), Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ (φιλόσοφοι) αὖθις ἐξηλάθησαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης. As this expulsion of the philosophers is spoken of as the consequence of the deaths of Senecio and Arulenus, it should probably be placed in the commencement of A.U.C. 847, or A.D. 94. (*Walch*, *ad loc.*)

Vetus ætas. This expression, like *prius ævum* (*Hist.*, i., 1), generally refers in Tacitus to the period before the battle of Actium.—

Quid ultimum in libertate esset. "What was the furthest limit in freedom." By the *ultimum in libertate* we are not to understand the greatest happiness, nor the last remnants of liberty under Augustus and Tiberius; but rather, as Walch remarks, unbridled licentiousness, the *immoderata libertas* of Cicero. (*Cic.*, *Ep. ad Quint. Fr.*, i., 1.)—*Per inquisitiones.* "By spyings (in the very bosoms of our families)." Compare Walch: "*heimliche Nachspähungen*;" and, as an illustration of the idea intended to be conveyed by the term, *Ann.*, iv., 69: "*Pavens civitas . . . . . notæ ignotæque aures vitari; etiam muta et inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.*"—*Et loquendi.* Lipsius conjectures *etiam loquendi*, but without any necessity, since *et* itself has here the force of *etiam*. (*Walther, ad loc.*)

Memoriam quoque ipsam, &c. The meaning is this: we would have gone so far in our patient endurance of tyranny, as not to have dared even to remember if, &c. This explanation will obviate the objection made to *nostra* by Jacob in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, for 1828, vol. ii., 2, p. 161.

CHAPTER III.

Animus. "Courage."—*Et quamquam.* The conjunction *et* has here the force of *et tamen*, "and yet."—*Beatissimi sæculi.* "Of this most blissful period." The term *sæculum* here does not mean a century, but a period of uncertain duration, lasting until another emperor introduced a new order of things. Thus Pliny (*Ep.*, x., 2) styles the reign of Domitian "*tristissimum sæculum.*" The period, to the commencement of which Tacitus here alludes, deserved, as the event abundantly showed, the epithet *beatissimum* here bestowed upon it. It began when, after the death of Domitian, the imperial authority devolved on Nerva, and the virtues of this prince were emulated by the successive emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and both the Antonines. The reigns of these five monarchs, embracing a period of nearly ninety years, formed the happiest era in the history of the Roman Empire.

Nerva Cæsar. Since Tacitus does not apply to him the term *Divus*, it may be conjectured that the life of Agricola was published while Nerva was yet alive, that is, between the 16th of September, A.D. 97, when Trajan was adopted, and the 27th of January, A.D. 98, the date of Nerva's death. (*Walch, ad loc.*—*Ryckius, ad Ann.*, iii., 24.)—*Res olim dissociabiles miscuerit.* "Has united things before irreconcilable."—*Nerva Trajanus.* Trajan was so called when adopted by Nerva. Brotier refers to a gold coin, in the royal col-

lection at Paris, with the inscription NERVA TRAJAN. CÆS. GERM. NERV. AVG. F. P. TR. P. COS. II., that is, *Nerva Trajanus, Cæsar, Germanicus, Nervæ Augusti filius, Pontifex, Tribuniciæ Potestatis, consul iterum;* and on the reverse ADOPTATIO.—*Nec spem modo ac votum,* &c. "And the public security has not only conceived hopes and wishes, but has attained unto confidence in the fulfillment of those very wishes, and unto a state of stability." Observe the zeugma in *assumserit,* by which it obtains in the first clause the force of *conceperit.* The public security, moreover, is here personified, and there is an allusion to the medallions struck by the emperors, with the figure of the goddess *Securitas,* and the inscription SECVRITAS or SECVRITATI PERPETVAE.

Ingenia studiaque. "Talents and literary industry."—*Subit.* "Steals over us." Analogous to the Greek *ὑπέρχεται.*

Per quindecim annos. Referring to the fifteen years of Domitian's tyranny, from A.D. 81 to 96, between the reigns of Titus and Nerva.—*Multi fortuitis casibus.* This is the emendation of Lipsius, in place of the common reading *multis fortuitis casibus.* The opposition between *multi* and *promtissimus quisque* proves at once the correctness of the change.—*Promtissimus quisque.* "All those most distinguished for readiness and activity."

Pauci, ut ita dixerim, &c. "A few of us are, if I may use the expression, survivors not only of others, but even of our own selves," *i. e.*, have outlived not only others, in a corporeal sense, but even our own selves in what relates to the mind: because, to use the words of Pliny (*Ep.*, viii., 14), "*Ingenia nostra in posterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contusa sunt.*" Observe that the words *ut ita dixerim* are intended as an apology for the boldness of expression in *nostri superstites.* With regard, moreover, to the employment here of *dixerim* instead of the earlier *dicam,* consult *Zumpt,* § 528, note 1.

Quibus juvenes ad senectutem, &c. Tacitus could not include himself among the *senes,* a latter class here mentioned, since at this period he was only about forty-five years old.—*Per silentium.* By *silentium* is here meant the repression of mental activity, referring to what was said before, *studia represseris facilius quam revocaveris.*

Memoriam prioris servitutis. "A memorial of former servitude." Namely, in his Annals and Histories.—*Testimonium præsentium bonorum.* In the history of Nerva and Trajan which he intended to compose in his old age. (Compare *Hist.*, i., 1.)—*Hic interim liber,* &c. "The present work, meanwhile, dedicated to the honor of my father-in-law Agricola, will be either praised, or (at least) excused, from its profession of filial piety," *i. e.*, from the feeling of

filial piety in which it professes to have been composed, or, in other words, from the piety of the intent. The term *pietas* most generally means filial piety or affection.

CHAPTER IV.

Vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia. "In the ancient and illustrious colony of Forumjulii." The town of Forumjulii (called also Forojulii) was situate in Gallia Narbonensis, and is now *Frejus.* It must not be confounded with Forumjulii in Venetia, now *Friuli.* The term *illustris* is here applied to the former, not so much from its own intrinsic importance as from the renown of its founder, Julius Cæsar. It was founded about the year B.C. 43, on the site of the ancient Oxubia. Pliny (iii., 4) calls the place *Octavanorum colonia,* from the veterans of the 8th legion, who composed the colony; and *Pacensis et Classica,* from its being the station of a Roman fleet.—*Procuratorem Cæsarum.* "An imperial procurator." These *procuratores* not only exacted the tribute from the provinces, and acted as stewards where the emperor had possessions, but collected the *vigesima hereditatum* and other imperial perquisites. (Compare *Mascow, de Procurat.*, i., 7, and *Walch, ad loc.*)—*Quæ equestris nobilitas est.* "Which post confers equestrian nobility," *i. e.*, which post raises a man to the rank of an *eques illustris,* and gives him the right to sit in the senate and to wear the *toga laticlavia.* A distinction of rank had arisen even in the time of Augustus among the equites. (Compare *Dio Cass.*, liv., 30, and *Walch, ad loc.*)

Julius Græcinus. Seneca bears very honorable testimony to his character, and says that he was put to death by Caligula because it was inexpedient for a tyrant to have so virtuous a subject. (*Senec., de Benef.*, ii., 21.) The name Græcinus occurs in the *Fasti,* among the *consules suffecti* of the year A.D. 16. From the contents of the books (xiv. and xv.), for which Pliny consulted the works of this individual, he would appear to have written on botany or viticulture. (Compare, also, *Columell.*, i., 14.)—*Sapientiæ.* Philosophy is meant.—*M. Silanum.* Silanus was consul A.D. 19. (*Ann.*, ii., 59.) In the year 33, Caligula married his daughter *Junia Claudilla.* (*Ann.*, vi., 20.) He was appointed proconsul of Africa, and afterward put to death by the emperor. (*Hist.*, iv., 48. *Suet.*, *Cal.*, 23.)

In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus. "Brought up in the bosom and beneath the affectionate care of this parent." The expression *in sinu* refers to the strict supervision exercised by his parent, and *indulgentia* (which is here to be taken in a good sense) to the mild-

ness with which that supervision was affectionately enforced. Agricola's mother brought back the old Roman custom of mothers themselves superintending the education of their children, and not leaving this to slaves. Hence the peculiar force of *in sinu*. Heinsius, mistaking the true meaning of *indulgentia* here, conjectures, very unnecessarily, *in cujus sinu diligenti cura*, or *indulgentia absque*. —*Per omnem honestarum artium cultum.* "In the cultivation of all liberal studies." *Omnem* must here be taken in sense with *artium*.

Arcebat eum ab illecebris, &c. "Independently of his own good and uncorrupted disposition, it served to keep him from the allurements of the vicious, that from earliest boyhood he had had Massilia as the seat and directress of his studies, a place where Grecian politeness was mingled and well united with provincial moderation and frugality." Observe that the indicative *habuerat* is necessary, because it simply assigns the reason for *arcebat*. The reading *habuerit* is erroneous.—*Massiliam.* Massilia, by the Greeks called Massalia (Μασσαλία), and now *Marseilles*, was a celebrated colony of the Phocæans, on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul. It became famous under the Roman emperors as a school of literature and the sciences.—*Locum Græca comitate*, &c. Enallage, for *locus in quo . . . . . . mixta erant*.

Acrius hausisse. "Would have drunk in too eagerly," *i. e.*, would have pursued with too much ardor. Observe that *hausisse* is here for *hausurum fuisse*. Pichena conjectured *ac juris* instead of *acrius*, and is followed by some editors; but the study of jurisprudence was never forbidden to a Roman and a senator.—*Ultra quam concessum*, &c. Observe that by *senatori* is here properly meant not an actual senator, but a person of senatorial birth, that is, whose father was a senator. (*Dronke*, *ad loc.*) The study of philosophy was never held in high estimation by the Romans generally (compare *Cic.*, *Off.*, ii., 1); here, however, the reference is to the state of things under the empire, when philosophical studies, especially those connected with the doctrines of the Stoics, were viewed by bad princes with a suspicious eye, as tending to foster sentiments hostile to tyranny. (*Walch*, *ad loc.*)

Pulchritudinem ac speciem. "The beauty and the array." Not a hendiadys, as some maintain, for *pulchram speciem*. On the contrary, *species* increases the force of *pulchritudo*. Compare the remark of *Bötticher* (*Prolegom. ad Tac.*, p. lxxxi.): "*Auget* species *vim* pulchritudinis *eamque designat qua oculis hominum se præbet.*"—*Vehementius quam caute.* This is one of the many varieties which

Tacitus employs in expressing a comparison, the positive being used for the comparative. The more regular construction would have been *vehementius quam cautius.*—*Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum*, &c. "And he retained, what is the most difficult of all, from the study of wisdom, *moderation.*" The ancient philosophers taught that nothing is good in itself unless under the regulation of *φρόνησις*. (*Plat.*, *Men.*, p. 88, B. *Arist.*, *Eth. ad Nic.*, ii., 5.) Compare *Horace* (*Ep.*, i., 6, 15):

> "*Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,*
> *Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.*"

Plato (*Gorg.*, p. 484, c.) gives the best commentary upon this passage: *Φιλοσοφία γάρτοι ἐστίν, ὦ Σώκρατες, χάριεν, ἄν τις αὐτοῦ μετρίως ἅψηται ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ· ἐὰν δὲ περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος ἐνδιατρίψῃ, διαφθορὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ εὐφυὴς ᾖ, καὶ πόῤῥω τῆς ἡλικίας φιλοσοφῇ, ἀνάγκη πάντων ἄπειρον γεγονέναι ἐστὶν ὧν χρὴ ἔμπειρον εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα καλὸν κἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐδόκιμον ἔσεσθαι ἄνδρα, κ. τ. λ.* (*Walch, ad loc.*)

CHAPTER V.

Prima castrorum rudimenta, &c. "He acquired the rudiments of military training in Britain, to the full satisfaction of Suetonius Paulinus, an active and prudent commander, since he had been selected (by that general) as one of whose character he might form an estimate through the intimacy of a common mess," *i. e.*, since he had been chosen by that general a member of his military family, with the view of forming a more accurate estimate of his abilities amid the familiar intercourse to which this relation would give rise. It was usual for young men of rank and talents to be admitted to this familiar intercourse with the general, as a sort of pupilage, or initiation into the duties of a military life. *Contubernium* properly denotes a certain number of soldiers quartered in the same tent; and then a common occupying of one and the same tent, a messing together, &c.

Suetonio Paulino. Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to the command of Britain in A.D. 59, during the reign of Nero, and Agricola probably came with him to the island. At all events, he was in Britain in A.D. 61.—*Approbavit.* When a person contracted to perform a piece of work, and brought it back completed according to the terms of the agreement, he was said *approbare opus locatori.* (*Gronov.*, *ad Plaut.*, *Amphit.*, *Prol.* 13.) Hence the figurative employment of the verb on the present occasion.—*Electus.* Equiva-

lent, not to *postquam electus erat*, but rather to *quippe qui electus erat.* —*Æstimaret.* The verb *æstimare* implies the attentive contemplation of an object to discover its value and quality. It never means "to think worthy," or "to esteem." Oberlin is in error when he says, "*æstimare est* dignum judicare, *non* explorare." (*Walch*, *ad loc.*)

Nec Agricola licenter, &c. "Neither did Agricola licentiously, (on the one hand), after the manner of young men (in general), who convert a military life into a scene of dissipation, nor slothfully, (on the other), avail himself of the rank of tribune for indulging in pleasures, or leave of absence, or for continuing in ignorance." Literally, "Nor did Agricola . . . . . refer the rank of tribune to pleasures," &c. We must not join together *titulum et inscitiam tribunatus*, but *ad voluptates et commeatus et inscitiam titulum tribunatus retulit.* To express the full force of the sentence a pause should be made before *inscitiam.*

Sed noscere provinciam. "But he proceeded to make himself acquainted with the province." The infinitive *noscere*, and those that follow throughout the sentence, are historical ones, and there is no ellipsis of any verb to govern them.—*Nihil appetere in jactationem.* "He sought after nothing for mere display," *i. e.*, he sought after no employment or situation merely for the purpose of making an ostentatious display of himself.—*Simulque anxius et intentus agere.* "And discharged his duties at one and the same time with solicitude and with spirit," *i. e.*, with equal solicitude and spirit. Observe that *anxius* refers to things future, *intentus* to things present.

Exercitatior. "In a more agitated state." Poetical usage. The prose form of expression would be *bello exercitatior.* (*Cic.*, *de Or.*, ii., 15. Compare *Oudendorp*, *ad Suet.*, p. 355.)—*Trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ.* The veterans in the colony of Camulodunum (*Colchester*), whose town was completely destroyed.—*Intercepti exercitus.* "Our armies were cut off and destroyed." Tacitus refers here to the legion under Petilius Cerialis, which was coming to the assistance of the veterans. The disturbance was quelled by Suetonius Paulinus, on his return from Mona. (*Ann.*, xiv., 29, *seqq.*) Camulodunum was the only colony in Britain; hence it has been proposed to read *incensa colonia;* but the alteration is unnecessary, since Tacitus only appears to have used the plural in an oratorical manner, as the other words *veterani* and *exercitus* are in the plural. Londinium was not a colony; and Verulamium (*St. Alban's*) was a municipium. Besides, we are not told that these places were burned.

Alterius. Suetonius Paulinus.—*Summa rerum.* "The control of affairs."—*Artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni.* "They, nevertheless, imparted professional skill and experience and incentives to the youth," *i. e.*, they, nevertheless, improved and animated the young Agricola.—*Ingrata temporibus.* "(A desire) uncongenial to the times." Those, namely, of Nero.—*Sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio.* "A sinister construction was put on the conduct of those who made themselves in any way conspicuous."

CHAPTER VI.

In Urbem digressus. A.D. 62.—*Domitiam Decidianam.* The name *Decidiana* may probably have arisen from her mother's having been called *Decidia.* The names *Vespasianus* and *Domitianus* arose in a similar way. (Consult *Walch, ad loc.*)—*Idque matrimonium,* &c. This marriage secured for him, in seeking preferment, the influence of the powerful *Gens Domitia.*—*Et invicem se anteponendo.* "And each giving the preference to the other."

Nisi quod in bona uxore, &c. "Save that there is so much more of what is praiseworthy in a good wife, by how much more of what is blamable there is in a bad one." *Laus* is here used for whatever is praiseworthy; and its opposite, *culpa,* for whatever is blamable. *Nisi quod,* which restricts or corrects something that has been said before, is often used with an ellipse, which must be supplied by the reader. So here the meaning of the sentence is, "They both loved one another sincerely, and each gave the other the preference; *for which both deserve credit*; only we must allow that in a virtuous wife there is proportionably as much more of what is praiseworthy, as in a bad wife there is of what is blamable," *i. e.*, when placed in comparison with the virtues and vices of the husband; because, from the weaker character of woman, the restraining of any evil propensities is more worthy of praise. (Compare *Walch, ad loc.*)

Sors quæsturæ. "The lot of the quæstorship." The office of quæstor was the entrance to all public employments, and it was, therefore, the first one held by Agricola. The quæstors, with the exception of the *Candidati Principis,* drew lots for their several provinces, that there might be no previous connection between them and the governors of the same, but that they might serve as checks upon each other.—*Salvium Titianum.* Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus, the elder brother of M. Salvius Otho, the future emperor, who was at this time serving as proconsul in Lusitania. (Consult *Ann.*, xii., 52; *Hist.*, i., 77, 90; ii., 23, 33, 39, 60.)

Parata peccantibus. "Prepared for delinquents," *i. e.*, where many of the inhabitants stood ready to be the instruments of the crimes of their rulers. (*Virdung, ad loc.*)—*Et proconsul, in omnem aviditatem pronus*, &c. "And the proconsul, prone to every species of rapacity, would have purchased the mutual concealment of guilt by granting Agricola any facility (for plundering) which he might wish."—*Filia.* Afterward the wife of Tacitus.—*Ante sublatum.* "Previously born." Literally, "previously taken up," *i. e.*, taken up and acknowledged. New-born infants were placed on the ground; and, if the father chose to acknowledge and rear them, he lifted them up (*tollebat*). If he did not do so, they were exposed.—*Brevi amisit.* He also lost a second son, born twenty years afterward. (Compare chapter xxviii.)

Inter quæsturam ac tribunatum plebis, &c. "The year between his quæstorship and tribuneship of the commons, and also the year of his tribuneship itself, he passed," &c. Observe that *annum* must be taken with *inter quæst. ac trib.*, as well as *tribunatus.*—*Quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.* "In which indolence was wisdom."—*Præturæ.* Agricola was prætor in A.D. 67. He had been tribune in A.D. 65, and quæstor in A.D. 63.

Nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. "For no actual jurisdiction had fallen to his lot," *i. e.*, he was neither *Prætor urbanus*, nor *Prætor peregrinus*, but of the number of those from whom all judicial functions had virtually been taken by the usurpation of the emperors; for even the *quæstiones perpetuæ* were in the hands of the senate, and carried on under imperial direction. Little else, therefore, was left to the prætors than the management of the games. (*Walch, ad loc.*) With *obvenerat*, supply *sorte.*

Ludos et inania honoris, &c. "He exhibited the games and empty pageantry connected with official preferment, by keeping within the limit prescribed by proper calculation and the extent of his own means; as, on the one hand, far removed from lavish expenditure, so, on the other, nearer to an honorable fame," *i. e.*, he exhibited them in such a way that, though celebrated without any great profusion, they would be extolled for their splendor, rather than passed over in silence, as though exhibited in a paltry manner. The games, &c., referred to here were those exhibited by the prætors on attaining to office, and on which these magistrates usually spent enormous sums in order to ingratiate themselves with the people, and thus pave the way to still higher preferment.—*Modo rationis atque abundantiæ.* This is the uniform reading of the earlier editions. One of the MSS., however, has *medio*, altered probably by

some copyist from the more difficult *modo*. If we adopt this latter reading, with Becker and Hertel, the meaning will be, "by pursuing a middle course between rational expenditure and profusion." Lipsius conjectures *moderationis atque abundantiæ*, giving *duxit* the force of *putavit*, which Oberlin and others adopt, supplying *rem esse*. The true reading, however, is the one which we have given. The explanation is Walch's.—*Duxit*. Observe that *ducere* is here equivalent to *edere*. The notion of *leading* a procession, &c., gave rise to that of "taking the lead in," "presiding over," "managing," &c. The verb ἡγεῖσθαι is used in a similar manner in Greek.

Diligentissima conquisitione, &c. Not only were the temples destroyed by the conflagration in the reign of Nero; but, when Nero himself was in want of money for the erection of his palace, he despoiled the temples of their offerings. (*Ann.*, xv., 38, *seqq.*) Tacitus means to say that Agricola succeeded in recovering most of the treasure from the hands of those who had appropriated it during the confusion, except such part as had been plundered by Nero. These *conquisitiones sacrorum* were not unfrequently instituted. (Compare *Liv.*, xxv., 7.)—*Ne sensisset*. "Should not have felt," *i. e.*, did not feel. There is no enallage of tense here, as some suppose. The reference is merely to what was passing at the time in the mind of Agricola before the object in view was accomplished. He exerted himself to bring it about, that the state should not have felt the sacrilege, &c., after the matter might have been brought to a close. (*Walther, ad loc.*)

CHAPTER VII.

Sequens annus. A.D. 69.—*Classis Othoniana*, &c. The affair here alluded to occurred in the month of March, A.D. 69, during the brief reign of Otho, and his contest with Vitellius. The cruelties and depredations committed on the coast of Italy by this fleet are described in lively colors by Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii., 12, *seq.*).—*Intemelios*. "The Intemelii," *i. e.*, the territory of the Intemelii. The name of the town itself was Albium Intemelium. Thus, Strabo remarks (iv., 6), πόλις εὐμεγέθης Ἄλβιον Ἰντεμέλιον, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰντεμέλιοι. The attack, therefore, was on Intemelium and its vicinity, and was a consequence of the ill planned measures of defence adopted by Marius Maturus, the procurator of Liguria, who had gone over from Otho to Vitellius. The modern name of Intemelium is *Vintimiglia*.

In prædiis suis. "On her own estates."—*Causa.* "The inciting

cause."—*Ad solennia pietatis.* "To discharge the solemn duties of filial piety."—*Affectati imperii.* "Of the empire's being aimed at." Walch, less correctly, refers this to an actual seizure of the empire. (Consult *Walther, ad loc.*)—*Ac statim in partes transgressus est.* "And soon after went over to his party." The adverb *statim* here, like *mox, modo, nuper,* &c., elsewhere in Tacitus, must not be taken in too strict a sense. At least three months must have elapsed between the death of his mother and his joining the party of Vespasian, as will appear from the following dates. Thus, Otho's death, after the battle of Bedriacum, took place in April, A.D. 69 (*Hist.*, ii., 55); Vitellius visited the battle-field forty days after the battle (*Hist.*, ii., 70); and Vitellius's entry into Rome took place on the 18th of July (*Hist.*, ii., 91).

Initia principatus, &c. "The commencement of the new reign, and the welfare of the city, Mucianus directed." Observe here the peculiar force of *statum*, and compare *Dial. de Or.*, 11; *Ann.*, iii., 28. Vespasian was conducting the war against the revolted Jews with great success, when he was urged by Mucianus, then governor of Syria, and by his own son Titus, to assume the sovereignty; and, during his stay at Alexandrea, he was proclaimed emperor by Tiberius Alexander, the governor of Egypt. He forthwith prepared for war against Vitellius, leaving his son Titus to conduct the siege of Jerusalem. On the overthrow of the forces of Vitellius by Antonius Primus, near Bedriacum, this latter commander marched to Rome at the end of December, A.D. 69, so that he first, in reality, had charge of affairs there; but in the following January Mucianus arrived, and acquired all the power. (*Hist.*, iv., 11.)

Admodum juvene Domitiano. He was at that time eighteen years old.—*Tantum licentiam usurpante.* "Claiming only the privilege of indulging in licentiousness." Domitian became afterward one of the most ferocious and detestable of the Roman emperors.

Missum ad delectus agendos. In the beginning of A.D. 70, Agricola set out for Britain, probably in the spring of the same year.—*Integreque ac strenue versatum.* "And who had conducted himself in that employment with fidelity and vigor."—*Vicesimæ legioni,* &c. The reason why, of the four legions posted in Britain (the second, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth), the second only took the oath promptly, is given by Tacitus elsewhere (*Hist.*, iii., 44). The twentieth legion was staying among the Cornavii, at Deva (now *Chester*).—*Ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur.* "(A station) in which his predecessor was reported to be acting seditiously." The individual here referred to was Roscius Cœlius. For an account of the affair,

consult *Hist.*, i., 60. Vettius Bolanus was sent to supply the place of Trebellius, whom Cœlius had forced to fly to Vitellius, at Lyons.

Quippe legatis quoque consularibus, &c. "For this legion was unmanageable, and formidable even unto the consular lieutenants," *i. e.*, even unto Trebellius Maximus and Vettius Bolanus. The *legati consulares*, in the time of the emperors, were individuals who had been consuls, and were governors of the province and commanders over all the legions stationed in it. On the other hand, the *legati prætorii* were those who had filled the office of prætor, and were in command of only a single legion.—*Nimia.* A very expressive term; literally, "too much for."—*Legatus prætorius.* Roscius Cœlius. (*Hist.*, i., 60.)

Incertum, suo an militum ingenio. Either because he did not know how to command, or they to obey.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dignum est. Some have proposed *esset* here instead of *est;* but though this would do very well if it were merely a remark of Tacitus, founded upon past events, *est* is equally well suited to the time in which Tacitus was writing; for, after the death of Agricola, Britain, or at least Caledonia, had thrown off the yoke. (*Hist.*, i., 2.) The name of a second Calgacus, the Caledonian Arviragus, was renowned at Rome. (*Juv.*, iv., 127.)—*Ne incresceret.* "That he might not grow too much into notice," *i. e.*, become too conspicuous, and appear to eclipse his commander. It is better to refer *incresceret* to Agricola than to *ardorem*, as some do. Ernesti correctly remarks that the words *ne incresceret* would form a pleonasm in the latter case.

Brevi deinde Britannia, &c. In A.D. 71. Petilius Cerialis had before this been lieutenant of the ninth legion, under Suetonius Paulinus. (*Ann.*, xiv., 32.) He was afterward one of the generals of Vespasian, to whom he was related (*Hist.*, iii., 59), and was actively engaged in the seizure of Rome (*Ib.*, iii., 78, *seq.*). He was sent into Germany; and, after the end of his campaign against Civilis, was appointed to succeed Bolanus. (*Hist.*, iv., 68, 71, 75, 78, 86; v., 14, 21, 23.)—*Spatium exemplorum.* "Room for displaying themselves as examples."

Communicabat. "Shared with him," *i. e.*, with Agricola. Supply *cum illo.* This verb does not appear to be used elsewhere by itself in this way. Thucydides (i., 39) employs κοινώσαντας and μεταδιδόναι in a similar manner. (*Walch, ad loc.*)—*Ex eventu.*

"From the issue," *i. e.*, in consequence of the successful termination of some affair. Equivalent to "*quum eventus id suasisset.*" (*Hand, ad Tursell.*, ii., p. 659.)

Nec Agricola umquam, &c. "Nor did Agricola ever exult in (such) exploits in order to increase his own renown." Observe here the peculiar construction of *in* with the accusative, and compare *Liv.*, xxi., 43 : "*In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite . . . . arma capite.*" Generally, in the older writers, when *in* or *ad* is used after a verb to express an object, a participle is subjoined. Others join *in suam famam* with *factis*. (*Walch, ad loc.*)—*Ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister*, &c. "He always, as a subordinate officer, gave the honor of his good fortune to the individual with whom his orders originated, and who was likewise his leader."—*Nec extra gloriam erat.* Observe that *nec* is here equivalent to *nec tamen.* The sense of the whole clause is simply this : "*et invidiam effugiebat, et gloriam assequebatur.*" (*Dronke, ad loc.*)

CHAPTER IX.

Revertentem ab legatione legionis. "On returning from the command of the legion," *i. e.*, the twentieth legion, in Britain.—*Provinciæ Aquitaniæ.* Gallia Comata comprised three provinces, Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis or Celtica, and Belgica. Aquitania was the tract between the Garonne, the Loire, the Pyrenees, and the Cevennes. It was annexed to the Roman Empire under Augustus. (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 1 ; *Ptol.*, ii., 7.)—*Splendidæ in primis dignitatis*, &c. "An office of the first distinction, on account of the importance of the command itself, and the hopes it gave of the consulship, to which he (Vespasian) had destined him." After *destinarat*, supply *eum*, a harsh ellipsis, however, as Walch correctly styles it.

Subtilitatem. "Acuteness." — *Quia castrensis jurisdictio*, &c. "Because the mode of administering justice in a camp, careless (respecting the niceties of law), and more blunt (in its character), and doing most things in an off-hand way, does not call into exercise the subtle distinctions of the bar." Observe here the employment of the subjunctive mood, *exerceat*, as indicating the sentiments of others, not those of Tacitus himself. It is the same, therefore, as saying, "does not call into exercise, *as they think.*"

Agricola naturali prudentia, &c. "Agricola, (however), by dint of native sagacity, decided with easy promptness and with justice, though in the midst of civilians." Tacitus means that the summary and off-hand mode of deciding cases, to which Agricola had been

accustomed in military life, did not at all interfere with his usefulness as a judge when he came to preside in a civil tribunal. The allusion here is to the *conventus juridici*, or circuit courts (assizes), in which Agricola, as governor of the province, was now called to preside. (*Gronov.*, *Observ.*, iii., 22.)—*Togatos.* The term *togati* is here equivalent, in effect, to *litigantes*; for suits could only be carried on in the *toga*, and in Latin. It does not mean lawyers or advocates alone, or citizens merely in opposition to soldiers. (Compare *Walch, ad loc.*)

Jam vero. "From this time, indeed."—*Conventus.* "The circuits." In order to facilitate the administration of justice, a Roman province was divided into a number of districts or circuits, each of which was called *conventus, forum*, or *jurisdictio.* At these *conventus* litigant parties applied to the proconsul, or governor, who presided in them, and this officer selected a number of judges, from the persons assembled, to try their causes. The proconsul pronounced sentence according to the views of the judges, who were his assessors or counsel. (*Dict. Ant., s. v.*)—*Officio.* "The claims of official duty."—*Nulla ultra potestatis persona.* "There was no playing the part of the man in power after this." Observe here the figurative meaning of *persona.* Its literal signification is "a theatrical mask," whence it obtains the present sense of sustaining a character, or playing a part.—*Tristitiam, et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat.* "He had, (then), completely laid aside official sternness, and the rigid requirement of respect, and unflinching severity in exacting what was due to the state." By *tristitia* is here meant, not gloominess of disposition, nor asperity of manners, but the sternness which beseems a magistrate and high public functionary. So, again, by *arrogantia*, as here employed, we are to understand, not the assumption of what does not belong to a person, but the rigid exaction of all the respect and attention to which he has a claim. The term *avaritia* has here its ordinary meaning. Agricola was not naturally *avarus*, any more than he was *tristis* or *arrogans*; but he was obliged to comply with the commands of Vespasian, who was likely enough to replenish his exhausted coffers by exactions from this wealthy province. (Compare *Hist.*, ii., 84; *Suet.*, *Vesp.*, 16.) *Avarus* was often equivalent to *parum liberalis.* So Cicero says, "*Qui hoc fecit avarum possumus existimare, crimen in eo constituere non possumus.*" (*In Verr.*, iii., 16.) So that *avaritia*, in the present passage, implies the greatest severity in exacting tribute, or what was due to the state. Oberlin and others, misunderstanding the force of *avaritia*, as here employed, give *exuere* the meaning of "to be en-

tirely free from," and make the language of Tacitus have a general application to the character of Agricola. There is no authority, however, for such an interpretation, and, besides, it would clash with what comes after, namely, "*integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit.*" (Compare *Walch, ad loc.*)—*Facilitas.* "Affability."

Indulgent. "Court."—*Per artem.* By means of such arts as governors frequently employ to secure the good-will of their provincial subjects. There is an allusion, perhaps, also, to addresses of thanks from the inhabitants of the province to the emperor, during and after the time of administration. (Compare *Dio Cass.*, lvi., 25; *Ann.*, xv., 22.)—*Collegas.* Magistrates who were created at the same comitia, and, when these were no longer held, by the senate and emperors, were called *collegæ.* So in *Hist.*, ii., 10, the colleagues of Mucianus are the governors of Judæa, Cappadocia, and Egypt; as, here, the colleagues of Agricola are all the provincial prefects, especially those appointed over the Gallic and Spanish provinces.—*Procuratores.* Each province had only one procurator at a time, and it does not seem that they were often changed; so that this plural must imply disputes such as commonly arise between governors and procurators.—*Et vincere inglorium, et adteri sordidum arbitrabatur.* "He thought that (in such disputes as these) both to conquer was attended with no glory, and to be worsted was a positive disgrace." Observe here the peculiar force of *adteri*, which answers thus to the Greek ἐλασσοῦσθαι, and is used of any infringement upon a person's dignity, or the respect and attention to which he has a claim.

Minus triennium. Supply *quam* after *minus.* (*Zumpt*, § 485.)—*Ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est.* "And was immediately thereafter recalled to the prospect of the consulship," *i. e.*, with the prospect of obtaining the consulship.—*Comitante opinione.* "Public opinion accompanying him," *i. e.*, while at the same time a popular opinion prevailed. Compare the Homeric κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ. (*Il.*, xvii., 251, &c.)—*Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus.* "No remarks having been made by himself to this effect." Observe that *in hoc* is here equivalent to *ad id*, and compare the Greek εἰς τοῦτο. The construction in *nullis sermonibus* is the ablative absolute.—*Par.* "Equal to the station."

Aliquando et elegit. "Sometimes it has even fixed a choice." There is a peculiar force here in *elegit*, and a blending, as it were, of the perfect and aorist, the tense not only indicating what sometimes *has been done*, but also what is *accustomed to be done.* (*Walther*,

ad loc.—*Ramshorn, L. G.*, § 164, p. 401, *b.*)—*Consul.* "When consul." This was in A.D. 77, when Vespasianus Augustus for the eighth time, and Titus Cæsar for the sixth, entered upon the consulate, and were succeeded on the 1st of July by Domitianus Cæsar, then consul for the sixth time, and Cn. Julius Agricola.—*Egregiæ tum spei filiam*, &c. Agricola's daughter was almost fourteen. Observe the force of *tum*, as referring to the hopes that were *then formed* of her, and that were subsequently realized. Tacitus was at this time in his 25th year.—*Adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.* This never ceased to be reckoned a mark of distinction.

CHAPTER X.

Multis scriptoribus. As Cæsar (B. G., iv., 21, *seqq.*; v., 8, *seqq.*, &c.), Pliny (*H. N.*, iv., 16), Ptolemy (iii., 2), Diodorus Siculus (v., 21, 22), Agathemerus (ii., 4), Strabo (ii., p. 116, 120, 128; iii., p. 137, 195; iv., p. 199, 200), Livy (i., 105), Fabius Rusticus, Pomponius Mela, and others.—*Non in comparationem curæ ingeniive.* "Not that a comparison may be instituted between my accuracy or talent, and that of others." Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "*Non ea de causa, ut comparatio inde fiat mei ingenii et aliorum.*"—*Perdomita est.* "Was it completely subdued."—*Itaque.* Equivalent to *et ita.*—*Rerum fide.* "With fidelity of facts," *i. e.*, from the evidence of actual discoveries.

Spatio ac cælo. "In situation and in climate." The old geographers gave the northern coast of Spain a northwesterly direction; and, unacquainted with the extent to which Bretagne reached westward, made the coasts of Gaul and Germany run in an almost uniform northeasterly direction. Tacitus seems to have placed Britain in the angle thus formed. He means to say here that it is situated between nearly the same degrees, both of latitude and longitude, as those parts of the coast of Spain and Germany opposite to which it lies. He (chap. xxiv.) imagined Ireland to lie between Britain and Spain, though there is no reason to suppose that he placed it on the southwest of Britain. Compare *Dio Cassius* (xxxix., 50): Ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς Κελτικῆς κατὰ Μωρίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους τὸ συντομώτατον· παρήκει δὲ παρὰ τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν ἔς τε τὸ πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσα. (Compare *Walch, ad loc.*)

In orientem Germaniæ, in occidentem Hispaniæ. "On the east toward Germany, on the west toward Spain." Observe that *Germaniæ* and *Hispaniæ* are datives depending on *obtenditur.*—*Gallis in*

meridiem etiam inspicitur. "It is even seen by the Gauls on the south." Compare the explanation of Dronke: "*non solum obtenditur, sed etiam inspicitur: inspicere autem est conspicere; Hist.*, ii., 6, 'auditique sæpius in Syria Judæaque Cæsares quam inspecti.'"—*Nullis contra terris.* Examples of ablatives absolute, used in this manner, are found in other writers besides Tacitus; as, "*Bonis tribunis plebis*" (*Cic.*, *Phil.*, i., 10): "*Multorum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse non posset*" (*Liv.*, xxxvi., 6).

Livius. In his 105th book (now lost, but of which we have the Epitome), in which he gave an account of Julius Cæsar's expedition into Britain.—*Fabius Rusticus.* A contemporary of Claudius and Nero, and a near friend of Seneca, more so than was consistent with the unbiased statement of truth, which should characterize the historian. (*Ann.*, xiii., 20.) He wrote the history of his own times. Tacitus quotes him again in his history of Nero (xiv., 2; xv., 61). If his history extended over the reigns of Caligula and Nero, he probably mentioned Britain when speaking of the expedition of Claudius (A.D. 43). It does not seem that he commenced his history from the point where Livy left off, as has been imagined; for Tacitus does not mention him in his earlier books. He could not have published his history before the death of Nero. (Consult *Ann.*, xiv., 2.)

Oblongæ scutulæ. "To an oblong four-sided figure." By *scutula* is properly meant a small four-sided dish, holding eight ounces of liquid. (*Cato*, *R. R.*, 68.) It is then applied, figuratively, to denote any four-sided figure; and on the present occasion, with the addition of the epithet *oblongæ*, designates what geometers call a *trapezium.* Compare the explanation of its shape as given by Censorinus: "*Heteromeros quadrangulum, nec latera habet paria, nec angulos rectos, simile scutellæ.*" (*De Die Nat.*, 18.)—*Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam*, &c. "And this is, in reality, its appearance, exclusive of Caledonia, and hence the popular report respecting its form has passed over (and been applied) unto the whole island." *Fama* is here the nominative, and we must supply with it a genitive from *facies.* *In universum* is equivalent to *in universam Britanniam.* The whole clause is paraphrased as follows by Walch: "*Fama ejus faciei, non in una parte Britanniæ constitit, sed in universam Britanniam transgressa est.*"

Sed immensum et enorme, &c. "But an immense and boundless extent of land, and jutting out from that part where the coast now almost comes to an end, is gradually contracted, as it were, into the form of a wedge." Observe that the words *extremo jam litore* are not to be joined, by means of the figure called *hyperbaton*, with *velut in cuneum tenuatur*, but with *terrarum procurrentium.* In the

words *extremo jam litore* Tacitus alludes to the narrow isthmus between the Clota (*Clyde*) and Bodotria (*Forth*), the southern boundary of Caledonia. Tacitus had formed a more correct notion of the shape of Britain than either Cæsar, Strabo, or Ptolemy.

Novissimi maris. "Of the farthest sea."—*Tunc primum.* Referring to the time of Agricola. Compare *Dio Cassius* (lxvi., 20): *Γναῖος Ἰούλιος Ἀγρικόλας πάντα κατέδραμε, καὶ πρῶτός γε Ῥωμαίων ὧν ἴσμεν ἔγνω τοῦθ', ὅτι ἡ Βρεττανία περίῤῥυτός ἐστι.*—*Incognitas ad id tempus insulas*, &c. According to Eusebius, Claudius had already annexed these islands to his dominions; and the same is said by Eutropius (vii., 13), Orosius (vii., 5), Bede (*Hist. Angl.*, i., 3), Gildas, and others, and certainly a report of their existence had reached Rome by that time. Mela estimates their number at thirty, Pliny at forty; so that *incognitas* must be here equivalent to *leviter* or *non penitus cognitas*; as it is in Cicero (*de Orat.*, ii., 24), "*causas dicunt incognitas.*" *Ignotus* has a similar force in the same writer (*de Orat.*, i., 39): "*Jus applicationis obscurum sane et ignotum patefactum atque illustratum est.*" (Compare *de Orat.*, i., 42; *Liv.*, xxviii., 44.)

Dispecta est et Thule, &c. "Thule, also, was but just discerned in the distance, which snow and winter were accustomed hitherto to conceal from the view." Thule is variously identified by different authors with *Mainland*, *Norway*, and *Iceland*. The last is the most probable; as the character and position of Iceland agree best with the description of the situation of Thule given by Strabo and Pliny. Observe that the verb *dispici* is used when speaking of any thing which can not be distinguished without difficulty. The text is doubtful in *quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat.* We have given the reading which makes the best sense. Some editions have *Dispecta est et Thule quadamtenus; nix et hiems adpetebat*, "Thule, also, was to some extent descried; snow and winter were seeking to make it their own." Other variations have also been proposed, with regard to which, consult *Walther, ad loc.*

Pigrum et grave remigantibus. "Sluggish and laborious to rowers." It would appear that the first circumnavigators of Britain, in order, no doubt, to enhance the idea of their dangers and hardships, had represented the Northern Sea as in so thickened and half solid a state, that the oars could scarcely be worked, or the water agitated by the winds. Tacitus, however, in what follows, rather chooses to explain its stagnant condition from the want of winds, and the difficulty of moving so great a body of waters. But the fact, taken either way, is erroneous; as this sea is never ob-

served frozen, and is remarkably stormy and tempestuous. (*Aikin, ad loc.*)—*Ne ventis quidem perinde attolli.* "Is not even raised by the winds, as it is elsewhere." Observe the force of *perinde*, and compare *Germ.*, 5: "*Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur.*"

Rariores. "Are (here) of more rare occurrence."—*Et profunda moles continui maris*, &c. "And the deep mass of one continued expanse of sea is more slowly set in motion." The expression *continuum mare* means the main sea, just as *continens terra* signifies the main land, or continent.

Naturam oceani, &c. The ebb and flow of the tide in the Northern Ocean was a matter of some astonishment to the Romans, as in the Mediterranean there is scarcely any tide at all. (*Plin.*, *H. N.*, xvi., 1.)—*Multi retulere.* As, for example, Pytheas of Massilia (*ap. Plut. plac. Philos.*, iii., 17), Pliny (*H. N.*, ii., 97, 99), Seneca (*Quæst. Nat.*, iii., 28), and Lucan (*Phars.*, i., 409).

Nusquam latius dominari mare, &c. "That the sea nowhere exercises a more extensive dominion; that it bears along many currents in this direction and in that; and that not as far as the shore merely does it increase or is it drawn back, but that it flows far inland, and winds about, and insinuates itself even among hills and mountains, as if in its native bed," *i. e.*, its ebbings and flowings are not confined to the shore, but it penetrates into the heart of the country, and works its way among hills and mountains, as in its native bed. (*Aikin, ad loc.*) The great number of friths and inlets of the sea, which almost cut through the northern parts of the island, as well as the height of the tides on the coast, render this language of Tacitus peculiarly proper.—*Fluminum.* Tacitus here refers to marine currents, which were known to the ancients, as we learn from Mela (iii., 3).—*Velut in suo.* Equivalent, in fact, to *veluti jugis montibusque in suo.* The ancients, as well as the moderns, taught that the bed of the sea, like the continent, contained valleys and mountains, the summits of which formed rocks and islands. (*Plin.*, ii., 102; vi., 22.)

CHAPTER XI.

Indigenæ. Cæsar mentions that the inhabitants of the interior parts of the island were supposed to be of indigenous origin. (*B. G.*, v., 12.)—*Ut inter barbaros.* "As (usual) among barbarians." Supply *fieri solet.*—*Habitus corporum.* "The characteristics of their frames," *i. e.*, their physical appearance.—*Atque ex eo argumenta.* "And from this you may draw arguments (as to their origin)."

Supply *colligas.*—*Namque.* There is the same difference between *nam* and *namque* as between *enim* and *etenim*, *γάρ* and *καὶ γάρ*. *Namque* may be frequently translated, as in the present passage, "thus, for instance."

Rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, &c. Compare the description given of the physical appearance of the Germans, in the *Germania*, 4.—*Silurum colorati vultus.* "The swarthy complexions of the Silures." The Silures answer to the people of *Wales*. They occupied what are now the counties of *Brecknock*, *Glamorgan*, *Monmouth*, *Hereford*, and *Radnor*. Some commentators refer the expression *colorati vultus* to the staining of the face and body. This, however, was not a custom peculiar to the Silures, but common to all the Britons, and can not, therefore, be meant here; on the contrary, *colorati* refers to the dark complexion produced by the rays of the sun. Thus we have the expressions, *Indi colorati*, *Seres colorati*, &c.—*Torti.* "Curly." The *torti crines* are what Brotier terms "*les cheveux crêpus.*"

Proximi Gallis et similes sunt. "Those nearest the Gauls resemble, also, the inhabitants of that country." Literally, "are also like (them)." Of these, the inhabitants of the modern *Kent* are most favorably spoken of by Cæsar: "*Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine.*" (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, v., 14.)

Seu durante originis vi, &c. "Either because the influence of a common origin still remains, or because, the lands advancing till they lie opposite one another, climate has given this character to their frames," *i. e.*, similarity of climate has given a similarity of character to their frames. With *habitum* supply *eum*. Tacitus means, that the coasts of the two countries, which at first run in different directions, gradually approach one another, till at the point where they end they lie opposite and parallel. Observe that *diversa* is here used in the same sense as *adversa*. Compare *Ann.*, xiii., 57; *Hist.*, iii., 13, &c.—*In universum tamen æstimanti.* Compare *Germ.*, 6. This use of the dative is exceedingly common in Greek. (Compare *Herod.*, i., 14; v., 88. *Thucyd.*, i., 10, &c.)

Eorum sacra deprehendas, &c. "You may discover traces of their religious system in the firm belief (of the Britons) in certain superstitions." Observe that *eorum* here refers to the Gauls, the people mentioned at the close of the previous sentence. The superstitious rites meant are particularly the mysterious and bloody solemnities of the Druids. From the language of Tacitus it would seem to follow that Druidism came into Britain from Gaul, and this, no doubt,

is the correct view of the matter. According to Cæsar, however, the institution originated in Britain (*B. G.*, vi., 13). The parent home of Druidism is now thought to have been the remote East. (Consult *Barth*, *Ueber die Druiden der Kelten*, p. 133, *seqq.*)—*Superstitionum persuasione.* Equivalent to *persuasione de superstitionibus.* So *persuasio falsa scientiæ* (*Quintil.*, i., 1, 8). Examples of a similar use of the ablative, without a participle to soften it, are found in "*Non honore Galbæ*" (*Hist.*, i., 44): "*Odio, metu*" (*Hist.*, i., 51): "*Amore et fide*" (*Agric.*, 41).

In deposcendis periculis, &c. This tallies precisely with Cæsar's account of the Gauls. (*B. G.*, iii., 19.)—*Plus ferociæ.* "More of martial spirit." Observe that *ferociæ* is here equivalent to *virtutis* or *fortitudinis.* In chapter xxxi. *virtus* and *ferocia* are joined together. So the adjective *ferox* does not mean "ferocious," but "proud and dauntless." (Compare *Dronke*, *ad loc.*; *Cort. ad Sall.*, *Jug.*, c. 106.)

Nam Gallos, &c. Compare *Germ.*, 28.—*Otio.* "Repose from warfare," *i. e.*, peace.—*Quod Britannorum olim victis*, &c. "Which has happened to those of the Britons who have been long subdued," *i. e.*, the subjects of Cynobellinus, conquered by Claudius. (*Walch*, *ad loc.*)

CHAPTER XII.

Honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. "The more honorable individual is charioteer; his vassals fight for him," *i. e.*, from the chariot. Among the Greeks and Trojans the ἡνίοχος was the less noble of the two. But compare *Diod. Sic.*, v., 21, 29.—*Olim regibus parebant*, &c. "Formerly they obeyed kings, now they are torn asunder by the nobles with parties and factions."—*Nunc per principes factionibus*, &c. We have evidence of this in the frequency with which British princes, as Adminius, Bericus, &c., were compelled to take refuge among the Romans (c. 24). Observe that *trahuntur* is for *distrahuntur.*—*In commune non consulunt.* Compare *Germ.*, 33: "*Nihil jam præstare fortuna majus potest quam hostium discordiam.*"

Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus, &c. "An assembly of two or three states, for the purpose of repelling some common danger, is of rare occurrence." By *conventus* is here meant an assembly for the formation of plans touching their common interests.—*Duabus tribusque.* The substitution of *ve* for *que*, as introduced by Pichena

and Acidalius, is unnecessary. So "*spem metumque*" (*Hist.*, i., 62), "*Capti cæsique*" (*Liv.*, xxiii., 1); "*Quid faciendum fugiendumque sit*" (*Cic.*, *Off.*, i., 28); *Δὶς καὶ τρίς* (*Plat.*, *Phædr.*, 235, A.), &c.

Cœlum crebris imbribus, &c. A remark still fully applicable to the climate of Britain. Strabo says that the sun generally shone there only for a few hours, and that in the morning and evening it was hid in clouds or fogs.—*Asperitas frigorum abest.* Compare Cæsar (*B. G.*, v., 12): "*Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.*"—*Ultra nostri orbis mensuram.* "Beyond the measure of those of our part of the world." For *ultra mensuram dierum nostri orbis.* Elliptical expressions of this kind are not uncommon. Pliny says that in Italy the longest day lasts fifteen hours; in Britain, seventeen. (*H. N.*, ii., 75.)

Quod si nubes non officiant, &c. "They say that provided, therefore, clouds do not interpose, the brightness of the sun is seen during the night, and that it neither sets nor rises, but moves across the sky." If by *fulgor solis* we could understand the light arising from the refracted rays of the sun, this would be strictly true; but the words *nec occidere . . . . . sed transire* are hardly applicable to this, and must refer to the sun himself. The same idea occurs in Eumenius (*Paneg. in Const.*, 9), "*Ut sol ipse, qui nobis videtur occidere, ibi appareat præterire.*"

Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum, &c. Consult notes on *Germ.*, 45.—*Non erigunt tenebras.* "Do not cast their shadow in a perpendicular direction."—*Præter.* "With the exception of."—*Patiens frugum.* For a long time Britain was the granary for the Roman army on the Rhine. Zosimus (iii., 5) speaks of eight hundred vessels employed, by order of the Emperor Julian, in transporting corn to Germany. (Compare *Amm. Marcell.*, xviii., 2, 3, and *Vales.*, *ad loc.*)—*Tarde mitescunt*, &c. "They ripen slowly, they come forth quickly," *i. e.*, growth is quick, but maturation slow. With *mitescunt* and *proveniunt* the term *fruges* must be mentally supplied.—*Cœli.* "The atmosphere." Compare Pliny (*H. N.*, ii., 38): "*Namque et hoc cœlum appellavere majores quod alio nomine aëra, omne quod vitali simile vitalem hunc spiritum fundit.*"

Fert Britannia aurum, &c. Strabo (iv., p. 138) agrees with Tacitus. Cicero, on the contrary, says, "*Illud cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula.*" (*Ep. ad Att.*, iv., 16.) Cambden speaks of gold mines in Cumberland and Scotland, and of silver mines near Ilfracomb.—*Gignit et oceanus margarita*, &c. Pliny, speaking of the British pearls, says, "*In Britannia parvos et decolores nasci certum est.*" (*H. N.*, ix., 35.) Bede, on the contrary,

says, "*In quibus sunt musculæ, quibus inclusam sæpe margaritam omnis coloris quidem optimam inveniunt, i. e., Rubicundi et purpurei, et hyacinthini et prasini, sed maxime candidi.*" (*Hist. Angl.*, i., 1.) The pearls which are found in Caernarvonshire, in the River Conway, and in Cumberland, in the River Irt, are equal to the best of those brought from the Indian Ocean; but they are so few and small as not to repay the trouble of searching for them.

Artem abesse legentibus. "That skill is wanting to those who gather them," *i. e.*, skill in removing them from the rocks. Compare Pliny (*H. N.*, ix., 35): "*Altius mersæ hærent, nec nisi vi ac summo periculo avelluntur legentibus.*"—*In rubro mari.* "In the Indian Ocean." Between Ceylon and Persia. The *rubrum mare* (ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα) of the ancients included both the *sinus Persicus* and the *sinus Arabicus.* Compare Pliny (*H. N.*, vi., 23): "*Quod in duos dividitur sinus, Persicum ab oriente, et Arabicum ulteriorem ex adverso.*"—*Prout expulsa sint.* "As they have been thrown up by the sea."—*Naturam margaritis deesse.* "That a proper nature is wanting to the pearls (of this country)." By *natura* is here meant what the Greeks term ποιότης φυσική, that is, in the present instance, brilliancy and whiteness, which the Indian pearls possess. (Compare *Walch*, *ad loc.*)

CHAPTER XIII.

Ipsi Britanni. From an account of the island, he now proceeds to one of the inhabitants themselves. Compare a similar employment of the pronoun *ipse* in the *Germania*, 2. — *Impigre obeunt.* "Cheerfully undergo."—*Igitur.* "For." This particle has here the force of *enim*, and is intended to be explanatory of what precedes, namely, *jam domiti ut pareant*, &c. (Consult *Hand*, *ad Tursellin.*, iii., p. 186, 187.)

Britanniam ingressus. In B.C. 54 and 55.—*Mox bella civilia.* Supply *fuere.*—*Principum.* "Of the leaders."—*Consilium id divus Augustus*, &c. "This the deified Augustus called policy, Tiberius an injunction (of his predecessor)," *i. e.*, of Augustus. Compare *Ann.*, i., 77: "*Augustus addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii.*" Strabo (ii., p. 115; iv., p. 200) assigns the reason for this conduct in relation to Britain. The Romans had nothing to fear from that island, nor would much advantage be derived from the possession of it; and, at the same time, it could not be conquered and kept in subjection without considerable expense. We must, besides this, also not overlook the friendly re-

lations which had been established meantime between Augustus and Tenuantius, the son of Cassivelaunus. Cynobellinus, the son of Tenuantius, was brought up at Rome, and accompanied Augustus in several campaigns.

Agitasse C. Cæsarem de intranda Britannia, &c. "That Caius Cæsar had meditated the design of invading Britain is quite certain; (and he would have done so) had he not been precipitate in forming schemes, fickle in changing his mind, and had not his mighty attempts against Germany proved fruitless." (Consult *Suet.*, *Calig.*, 46; *Dio Cass.*, lix., 25.) This expedition was undertaken not from Gaul, but from the Batavian shores. The light-house, which Caligula built, was at the second mouth of the Rhine, now choked with sand, where the remains of it still exist, and are called by sailors the *Calla-Thurm.*—*Ni velox ingenio*, &c. Observe the elliptical form of the sentence, where we must supply *et intrasset*, or something equivalent. There is an ellipsis, also, of *fuisset* after *velox ingenio* and *mobilis pœnitentia.*—*Ingentes adversus Germaniam*, &c. Consult note on *Germ.*, 37.

Auctor operis. "Was the one that carried these designs into effect." Literally, "was the author of the work." A British refugee, named Bericus, advised Claudius not to miss the opportunity of subduing Britain. For an account of the successes of Claudius, or, rather, of A. Plautius and Vespasian, in A.D. 43, consult *Hist.*, iii., 44; *Suet.*, *Claud.*, 17; *Dio Cass.*, lx., 19, *seqq.*—*In partem rerum.* "To share in the undertaking."

Domitæ gentes. Only the Boduni are mentioned by Dio; but his account is imperfect. As only Cynobellinus's sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, appeared in the field against Plautius and Vespasian; and, after the capture of Camalodunum, the war was considered as completed; it appears probable that most of the tribes south of the Thames and Severn were under the dominion of Cynobellinus.—*Capti reges.* Who these were we do not know. Bede says the country was divided among twenty-five petty kings.

Monstratus fatis. "Was pointed out by the fates." As this expedition laid the foundation of Vespasian's subsequent elevation to the throne, by the fame which he thereby acquired of a successful commander, it may well be said that the fates now began to give indications of his future career. Observe that *fatis* is here in the ablative without *a*, instances of which construction are not unfrequently found. Compare *Liv.* (v., 15): "*Interpres fatis oblatus;*" and *Hor.* (*Od.*, i., 6, 1): "*Cura fatis data.*" We can not regard *fatis* in the present passage as the dative, since a person could hardly be

said to be commended to the favor of the fates, who, as Seneca (*Quæst. Nat.*, 35) says, "*Aliter jus suum peragunt, nec ulla commoventur prece, non misericordia flectuntur, non gratia. Servant cursum irrevocabilem, et ex destinato fluunt.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

Aulus Plautius. He was the consular legatus during the years A.U.C. 796–800. (Consult *Ann.*, xiii., 32; *Dio Cass.*, lx., 19.)—*Præpositus.* "Was placed over the island." The full form of expression would be *præpositus est insulæ.*—*Subinde Ostorius Scapula.* During the years A.U.C. 800–803. For an account of his contests with the Silures under Caractacus, consult *Ann.*, xii., 31, *seqq.* Though he penetrated to the Irish Sea, and Caractacus was delivered up by Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, he did not subdue the Silures. Oyster Hill, near Hereford, the site of a Roman camp, received its name from him.

Proxima pars insulæ. "The part of the island nearest us," *i. e.*, nearest Italy and Rome. How much of the southern part of the island is included in this can not be determined.—*Addita insuper veteranorum colonia.* This was at Camalodunum (*Colchester*), the residence of Cynobellinus. *Camalodunum* means "the city of Mars," *Camalus* among the Britons answering to Mars. It was called *Colonia victrix*, and was chosen for the station of the fourteenth legion (*Legio gemina Martia victrix*). Compare *Ann.*, xii., 32; and, as regards the modern name of Camalodunum, which some erroneously make to be not *Colchester*, but *Malden*, consult *Quarterly Journal of Science* for 1822, No. 23.—*Quædam civitates Cogiduno*, &c. "Certain districts were presented to King Cogidunus." Cogidunus is not mentioned elsewhere. He was, perhaps, a vassal of the sons of Cynobellinus.

Vetere ac jam pridem recepta, &c. "According to the old and long-since established custom of the Roman people, to have even kings as the instruments of slavery." Compare Livy (xliv., 24): "*Pop. Rom. regum viribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adjutore patrem suum oppressum. Eumene adjuvante Antiochum superatum.*"

Mox Didius Gallus, &c. Consult *Ann.*, xii., 40, and xiv., 29. The British insurrection under Boadicea happened in A.U.C. 814, and Suetonius's arrival in 812. Veranius was legatus for somewhat less than a year, in 811. Accordingly, Didius held the command during the years 804–810.—*In ulteriora.* Apparently in the territory of the Silures.—*Fama aucti officii.* "The credit of having extended

the bounds of his administration," *i. e.*, of having enlarged his province. The term *officium*, as Walch remarks, is used in the same sense by Cæsar (*B. G.*, iii., 5): "*Toti tamen officio maritimo Bibulus præpositus.*" Compare *Dig. de Off. Proc.*, 4: "*Si quid uxores eorum, qui ad officia proficiscuntur, deliquerunt.*"—*Veranius.* This commander made some incursions into the territory of the Silures, and would no doubt have pushed his conquests further, had he not been cut off by a premature death. Consult *Ann.*, ii., 56, 74; iii., 10, 13, 17, 19; xii., 5.

Suetonius hinc Paulinus, &c. "From this time Suetonius Paulinus enjoyed prosperous fortune for two years, in the subjection of tribes and the establishment of garrisons." We must be careful not to translate "after the rebellious tribes had been subdued," as some do. The past participle has a similar force in *Ann.*, xvi., 21: "*Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit, interfecto Thrasea Pæto,*" equivalent to *interficiendo Thrasea Pæto*, "Nero wished to destroy virtue itself by killing Pætus." Compare *Ann.*, iv., 34: "*Cremutius Cordus postulatur novo ac tum primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus, laudatoque M. Bruto Caium, Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset.*"

Monam insulam aggressus. The Mona of Tacitus is now the *Isle of Anglesea*, whereas the Mona of Cæsar is the *Isle of Man.* A trace of the name *Mona* still remains in that of the *Menai* strait. The Mona of Tacitus was the chief seat of the Druidical religion in Britain, and was, on this account, attacked by Paulinus, who wished to put an end, by these means, to the influence exercised by the Druid priesthood over the minds of the Britons, in stirring them up to opposition against the Romans. Paulinus took the island, and destroyed the groves in which human sacrifices were accustomed to be offered. For a spirited sketch of the affair, consult *Ann.*, xiv., 30.—*Vires.* "Forces." Tacitus says that the island was powerful in its inhabitants (*incolis validam*).—*Terga occasioni patefecit.* "Laid open to a surprise the settlements behind him." Tacitus alludes to the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea, of which an account is given in *Ann.*, xiv., 31, as well as in the two following chapters of the present work.

CHAPTER XV.

Interpretando. "By commenting upon them."—*Ex facili.* "Easily." This expression has been formed after the model of such phrases as *ex inopinato*, *ex insperato*, *ex abundanti* (*Quint.*, iv., 5, 15);

ex affluenti (*Hist.*, i., 57), &c. The same idiom occurs in Greek, as, *ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος* (*Herod.*, iii., 150); *ἐξ ἀέλπτων* (*Soph.*, *Aj.*, 715), &c. —*Singulos sibi olim*, &c. "That formerly they had only one king for each nation." Observe the force of *singulos*, one for each nation; not merely one king, which would be *unum regem.*—*Sæviret.* Observe the employment of the subjunctive, as indicating the sentiments of the speaker, not those of the writer.—*Æque discordiam præpositorum*, &c. "That in an equal degree did the discord of those placed over them, in an equal degree did their union prove destructive to those subjected to their sway." Observe here the employment of *æque .... æque.* So we have *pariter .... pariter* in Ovid (*Met.*, xii., 36): "*Et pariter Phœbus, pariter maris ira recessit.*" The use of *atque* in such phrases as *aliud atque* arose from the omission of one *aliud*, which occurred in the fuller and original form of the expression, *aliud hoc atque aliud illud.*

Alterius manus, &c. "That the officials of the one, the centurions of the other, mingled violence and insults," *i. e.*, treated them with mingled violence and insult. The first *alterius* refers to the procurator, and by *manus* are meant his under-officers and attendants; the second *alterius* refers to the *legatus.* We have given here the reading suggested by Gronovius (*Diatrib. in Stat.*, p. 264), and which appears to great advantage by the side of the strange emendations which different editors have proposed. The whole question is fully discussed in Walch's note.

In prœlio fortiorem esse qui spoliet. "That in battle it is the braver man who despoils." Observe, again, the employment of the subjunctive in *spoliet*, as indicating the sentiments of the speaker, not of the writer.—*Tamquam mori tantum*, &c. "As if they were ignorant only how to die for their native land." Compare the analogous Greek construction of *ὡς* with the absolute case of the participle.

Quantum. "How mere a handful." One of the MSS. has *quantulum*, the correction of some copyist who was ignorant that *is*, *talis*, *tantus*, *quantus*, and the like, are employed to express diminution as often as enlargement. (*Walch, ad loc.*) The infinitive is the more usual construction in sentences of this kind; as, "*quantum ..... profici* (*Hist.*, iii., 70); "*Quid dicturos*" (*Ib.*, iii., 13). But the subjunctive may be used; as, "*cur petisset*" (*Hist.*, iii., 70).—*Sic Germanias excussisse jugum.* By the overthrow of Varus, and the slaughter of his legions. The plural form *Germanias* has reference to the subdivision of the country into Upper and Lower Germany. (Compare notes on *Germ.*, c. i.)—*Et flumine, non oceano, defendi.*

"And yet were defended by a mere river, not, like themselves, by the ocean." Observe that *et* has here the force of "and yet." So *nec* for *nec tamen*, in chap. viii. Compare Livy (xxv., 25): "*Nomina partium urbis, et instar urbium sunt;*" and, again (i., 37): "*Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere.*"

Divus Julius. This expression seems rather strange in the mouth of a barbarian; but the Roman writers were not so scrupulously exact in such matters as modern criticism requires.—*Recessisset.* The subjunctive again, to express the sentiments and assertion of the speaker merely.—*Qui detinerent.* "Since they detained." Observe that *qui* here takes the subjunctive, because the clause in which it stands contains the reason of what precedes. (*Zumpt*, § 564.)

Quod difficillimum fuerit. "What has ever been most difficult." Compare chap. xii.: "*In commune non consulunt.*" Observe, again, the employment of the subjunctive to express the sentiments, &c., of the speaker.—*Porro.* "In fine." Analogous, in some respect, to *denique.* (*Walch, ad loc.*)—*Audere.* "To dare to put them into execution."

CHAPTER XVI.

Boadicea. This name is variously spelt, *Boudicea*, *Boodicea*, or *Boadicea.* The last form has most authority in its favor. Dio Cassius gives Βουνδουῖκα. She was the wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, a tribe inhabiting the eastern coast of Britain. The story of her wrongs is related in *Ann.*, xiv., 31.—*Sumsere bellum.* So *Ann.*, ii., 45; and "*prœlium sumsere*" (*Hist.*, ii., 42). Compare the Greek, πόλεμον ἤραντο (*Thucyd.*, iii., 39).—*Expugnatis præsidiis.* Camalodunum was taken and destroyed by fire. Londinium was also taken, and Verulamium soon after experienced a similar fate. In these places nearly seventy thousand Romans and Roman allies were slain with cruel tortures.—*Nec ullum in barbaris*, &c. "Nor did anger and the license of victory omit any kind of cruelty usual among barbarians." It is erroneous to regard *ira et victoria* here as a mere hendiadys. The expression is meant to be a far more forcible one. Compare the remarks of Bötticher, p. xlvi.

Quod nisi Paulinus, &c. "Had not Paulinus, therefore," &c.—*Quam unius prœlii fortuna*, &c. "The fortune of a single battle, however, reduced it to its ancient subjection; although many still remained in arms, whom the consciousness of revolt and dread of the legate more nearly affected." Suetonius saw that a battle

could no longer be deferred. His forces consisted of only about ten thousand men, while those of the Britons under Boadicea are said to have amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand. On the day of the battle the queen rode in a chariot with her two daughters before her, and commanded her army in person. She harangued her soldiers, reminded them of the wrongs inflicted upon Britain by the Romans, and roused their courage against the common enemy. But the Britons were conquered by the greater military skill and the favorable position of the Romans. About eighty thousand Britons are said to have fallen on that day, and the Romans to have lost no more than 400. Boadicea would not survive this irreparable calamity, and put an end to her life by poison. This victory finally established the Roman dominion in Britain. (*Ann.*, xiv., 31–37; *Dio Cass.*, lxii., 1–12.)

Durius. "With too much severity."—*Petronius Turpilianus.* Sent A.U.C. 815. He was put to death by Galba. (*Hist.*, i., 6, 37.) From this time forward, Britain, as far as Anglesea, may be considered as under the Roman dominion.—*Delictis hostium novus*, &c. "New to the offences of the enemy, and on that account milder to their repentance," *i. e.*, unacquainted personally with the excesses of which the foe had been guilty, and therefore more disposed to treat them mildly on their repenting. Compare "*novus dolori*" (*Sil. Ital.*, vi., 254): "*firmus adversis*" (*Agric.*, 35).—*Compositis prioribus.* "After the former disturbances had been allayed."—*Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit.* When is uncertain: probably in A.D. 64. Trebellius's flight took place in A.D. 69. (*Hist.*, i., 60; ii., 55.)

Nullis experimentis. For *nulla experientia.*—*Comitate quadam curandi.* "By a certain courtesy in governing." *Curare* is not unfrequently used by Sallust and Tacitus in the sense of "governing," "administering," "commanding." Thus, "*Is in ea parte curabat.*" (*Sall., Jug.*, 60): "*Qui proconsul Asiam curaverat*" (*Ann.*, iv., 36).—*Vitiis blandientibus.* "Through the seductive influence of our vices," *i. e.*, through the seductive charms of luxury. Literally, "our vices coaxing them (into this state of feeling)."—*Et interventus civilium armorum*, &c. Namely, in order that the empire might not be harassed by foreign wars at the same time that it was torn by intestine convulsions.

Sed discordia laboratum. "Danger, however, was incurred by mutiny." The noun *labor* is used in this same sense. Compare *Tibull*, i., 1, 3: "*Quem labor assiduus vicino terreat hoste.*" Πόνος and πονεῖν are similarly employed in Greek. (Consult *Gottleber.*, *ad*

Thucyd., ii., 49.)—*Lasciviret.* "Began to grow insubordinate."—*Precario mox præfuit.* "Commanded after this by a precarious authority." (Consult note on "*precario jure parendi*," *Germ.*, 44.)—*Præfuit.* Supply *exercitui.*—*Ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam*, &c. "And, as if they had stipulated, the army for unbridled freedom, the general for safety, this sedition was unaccompanied by bloodshed." We have adopted here the punctuation of Walther, which appears to afford the best sense. Walch and others place a colon after *salutem*, and make *pacti* stand for *pacti sunt*, "And they, as it were, stipulated," &c. This, however, brings in the succeeding clause too abruptly. According to our pointing, *pacti* is for *pacti essent.*

Vettius Bolanus. Consult chapter viii. This governor arrived in Britain between April and May, A.D. 69. During his administration the circumstances happened which are recounted by Tacitus, in *Hist.*, iii., 45.—*Eadem inertia.* Statius, then, must be charged with flattery in addressing Crispinus, the son of Bolanus. (*Silv.*, v., 2, 53, *seqq.*, 142, *seqq.*)—*Nullis delictis invisus.* "Hated for no crimes." Compare, for a similar usage, *Ann.*, vi., 42: "*Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti.*"—*Caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.* "Had procured for himself affection in lieu of authority," *i. e.*, had made himself loved rather than feared.

CHAPTER XVII.

Et Britanniam reciperavit. "Recovered Britain also," *i. e.*, restored it to the benefits of a firm and wise administration of affairs at Rome. Vespasian placed the Roman world once more upon a firm basis, after it had been shaken to its centre by the civil contest between Otho and Vitellius. (*Dronke*, *ad loc.*)—*Reciperavit.* The earlier form of *recuperavit*, and which we have given with the best editors. (Consult *Gronov.* and *Drakenb.*, *ad Liv.*, 7, 18.)—*Magni duces, egregii exercitus*, &c. "Our generals (in that island) were men of great abilities, our armies were excellent, the confidence of the foe was lessened." Supply *fuere* in the first and second clauses, and *fuit* in the third.

Petilius Cerialis. Already mentioned in chapter viii.—*Brigantum.* The Brigantes inhabited what are now the counties of York, Westmoreland, Durham, and Lancaster.—*Aut victoria amplexus*, &c. Observe that *victoria amplecti* is "to subdue," but *bello amplecti* "to overrun."—*Et cum Cerialis quidem*, &c. "Although Cerialis, indeed, might have obscured the care and fame of another successor

yet Julius Frontinus also sustained the burden," *i. e.*, discharged with ability the duties of his office. Observe that *obruisset* here merely indicates possibility, and is equivalent to *obruere potuisset.* The subjunctive has not unfrequently a pregnant sense, involving *posse, velle, opus esse.* The reason why Tacitus expressed himself on this occasion so cautiously may probably be owing to the fact that Frontinus was still alive. In *Hist.*, iv., 71 ; v., 21, he uses greater freedom.—*Alterius.* The term *alter*, although it is commonly synonymous with ἕτερος, sometimes stands for ἕτερός τις, and is even equivalent to ἄλλος occasionally. Compare chapter v.: "*Consilio ductuque alterius.*"

Quantum licebat. "As far as was permitted," *i. e.*, as far as was permitted by the times in which he lived, when to appear eminent was dangerous; and it was dangerous, especially for the governor of so important a province, even in the time of Vespasian. Frontinus lived till A.D. 106, and was an augur at the time of his death. He was the author of a work upon the art of war (*Stratagematica*), and of another upon the aqueducts of Rome, the superintendence of which was intrusted to him during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan.—*Validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem.* Since the victories of Suetonius Paulinus, from about A.D. 62 to 75, we hear nothing of the struggles with the Silures. But that the subjection of these wild mountain tribes had not yet been accomplished, is shown not only by Frontinus's expedition, but by Agricola's enterprise against Mona.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Hunc Britanniæ statum, &c. "Found this condition of Britain, these vicissitudes of warlike operations," *i. e.*, found Britain in this state, as resulting from the fluctuating fortune of the contests which have just been mentioned. Observe that *vices* here marks a result, not what was passing at the time.—*Media jam æstate.* This was in A.D. 78.—*Cum et milites, velut*, &c. "When both our own soldiers, as if all onward movements had been given over, were addressing themselves to enjoyments free from care, and the enemy to the seizure of the opportunity thus offered them." Observe the middle sense of *verterentur*, and with regard to *omissa expeditione* compare the explanation of Walch: "*als wäre die Ueberwältigung der Insel aufgegeben.*"

Ordovicum civitas. The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery.—*Alam in finibus*

suis agentem, &c. "Had destroyed almost to a man the troop of horse acting within their confines." The *ala* was the body of cavalry belonging to the legion, in number generally about three hundred. *Agentem* marks that there was a fixed camp. The period between the departure of Frontinus and the arrival of Agricola, when the island was without a governor, probably afforded the opportunity for this occurrence.

Eoque initio erecta provincia, &c. "And by this beginning the inhabitants of the province being thrown into a state of anxious suspense, inasmuch as a war was what they wished for, either approved of the example, or waited to learn the feelings of the new governor," *i. e.*, or withheld their determination till they had ascertained his feelings. The meaning is, that some did the one, and some the other. *Ut qui* generally, and always in Livy, is joined with the subjunctive mood; but sometimes with the indicative. Observe, moreover, the imitation of the Greek idiom in *ut quibus bellum volentibus erat*, where the regular Latin form of expression would have been *ut qui bellum volebant*, and compare *Kühner, G. G.*, § 599, 3, *ed. Jelf.* So we have in Sallust (*Jug.*, 84), "*Neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*;" and (c. 100), "*Uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset*;" and, again, in Livy (xxi., 50), "*Quibusdam volentibus novas res fore.*"

Numeri. "The forces." The term *numerus* is here employed in its military sense, a meaning which appears to have come in during the reign of Augustus. It is well explained by Torrentius (*ad Suet., Vesp.*, 6): "*Est militare vocabulum non solum pro catalogo seu breviculo militum, quam etiam matriculam vocant, sed pro ordinibus ipsis turmisque et cohortibus militum.*" Walch renders it here "the cohorts," but this appears too limited, the reference being rather to various subdivisions and bodies of troops. Bötticher, therefore, translates, more correctly, "*die Truppenabtheilungen.*"—*Præsumta apud militem*, &c. "Inaction for that year was anticipated among the soldiery."—*Tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo.* "Circumstances which delay and thwart one who purposes to commence war." This must be taken as a parenthesis independent of *quamquam.*—*Custodiri suspecta.* "That the suspected parts of the country should be watched merely," *i. e.*, those parts where the inhabitants were suspected of an intention to throw off the Roman yoke.

Contractisque legionum vexillis. "And having drawn together the veterans of the legions." Observe that *vexillis* is here for *vexillariis*. On comparing all the passages where the *vexillarii* and *vexilla legionum* are mentioned, it will be found that we are to understand by

these terms those veterans who, since the time of Augustus, after serving sixteen campaigns, were released from their military oath, but were retained till their complete discharge under a flag (*vexillum*) by themselves, free from all other military duties, except to render assistance in the more severe battles, to guard the frontiers of the empire, and keep in subjection provinces that had been newly conquered, and were, therefore, more disposed to revolt. There were *vexillarii* attached to each legion, and it would appear (*Ann.*, iii., 21) that they amounted in number to five hundred. When there was any necessity, they were detached from their legions, and sometimes, as in the present instance, were all united into one body. Consult Walch's elaborate note on this subject.

In æquum. "Into the plain."—*Erexit aciem.* "Led his force in battle array up toward the mountains." Compare Dronke, "*Erigere aciem* est in arduum versus montem ducere." So Livy (i., 27), "*Inde, ubi satis subisse ratus est, erigit totam aciem.*"—*Instandum famæ.* "That renown must be followed up."—*Cessissent.* For *processissent.* So χωρεῖν, for προχωρεῖν, in Herodotus (v., 49).—*Cujus possessione revocatum.* Observe the omission of the preposition *a*, and compare *Germ.*, 14: "*Exigunt liberalitate principis.*"

Ut in dubiis consiliis. "As in the case of plans, the issue of which is doubtful." The meaning appears to be, that Agricola had had some intention of invading Mona previous to his campaign against the Ordovices; but, as the result of that campaign was doubtful, he had not provided vessels; and he had not had time to do so after the conquest of the Ordovices, when he had fully determined to invade the island. Examples of the passive meaning of *dubius* frequently occur. Thus, *Suet.*, *Aug.*, 17: "*M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam abrupit tandem.*"—*Ratio et constantia ducis transvexit.* "The ability and resolution of the general transported his forces across."

Lectissimos auxiliarium. Virdung supposes these auxiliaries to have been Germans, especially Batavians, and refers, in support of his opinion, to *Hist.*, v., 14, where the Germans are spoken of as "*fluminibus suetos*," and to *Mela*, iii., 3, &c. But others, with more probability, think that they were Britons, since the Batavians could not be acquainted with the shallows between Britain and Mona. Eighteen years before, Suetonius Paulinus had sent his cavalry across the straits in the same way. (*Ann.*, xiv., 29.)—*Quibus nota vada*, &c. "To whom the fords were known, and the practice of swimming was the peculiar one of their country." Compare, as regards the force of *patrius* here, the remarks of *Boetticher*, *Lex.*

Tac., s. v. Paternus et Patrius, p. 344.—*Qui classem, qui naves*, &c. "Who expected a (Roman) fleet, who expected ships, who expected the (difficulties of the) sea," *i. e.*, the difficulties which would be opposed to the progress of the Romans by the intervening straits. (Compare *Bötticher, Remarks*, &c., p. xlii.)—*Nihil arduum aut invictum.* "Nothing arduous or insuperable." Observe the employment of *invictum*, a perfect participle passive, in place of a neuter adjective in *ile.* This is one of the peculiarities of the style of Tacitus. (Compare *Bötticher, Remarks*, p. xl.)

Officiorum ambitum. "Efforts to procure the homage and flattery of the inhabitants." Compare *Ulpian*: "*Antequam fines provinciæ decretæ sibi proconsul ingressus sit, edictum debet de adventu suo mittere, continens commendationem aliquam sui, si qua ei familiaritas sit cum provincialibus, vel conjunctio, et maxime excusantis, ne publice, ne privatim ei occurrant; esse enim congruens, ut unusquisque eum in sua patria exciperet.*" (*Ulp. in Dig. de Off., Proc. et Leg.*, i., *tit.* 16, *s.* iv., § 3.)

Nec Agricola, usus prosperitate rerum, &c. "Neither did Agricola, having used prosperity of affairs for purposes of mere vanity, call the having curbed those already conquered an expedition or a victory. He did not even follow up his achievements with laureled letters." According to the Roman custom, after any decisive battle had been won, or a province subdued by a series of successful operations, the successful general forwarded to Rome a laurel-wreathed dispatch containing an account of his exploits. The laurel (*i. e.*, bay) was considered by the Romans the peculiar emblem of victory. With *laureatis* supply *literis*. The full form is given by *Livy* (xlv., 1): "*Literæ a Postumio laureatæ sequuntur, victoriam Populi Romani esse.*"

Æstimantibus. "Men considering." Ablative absolute, and an imitation of a well-known Greek idiom. (Consult *Wopkens, in Act Traj.*, ii., p. 118.)

CHAPTER XIX.

Animorum provinciæ prudens. "Being well aware of the tone of feeling in the province."—*Per aliena experimenta.* "By the experience of others." More closely, "By the trials which others had made."—*Excidere.* "To eradicate."—*Domum suam.* "His own household." *Domus* is here used in a wider sense than in chapter xlvi., and means his suite (military family) and attendants.

Nihil per libertos servosque, &c. "He transacted no public business through freedmen or slaves." Supply *agere*, in the sense of

agebat. This omission of the verb *agere* or *facere* is not unfrequent. Compare *Ann.*, i., 43 : "*Melius et amantius ille, qui ferrum mihi obtulit,*" scil. *agebat;* and iv., 38 : "*Melius Augustum qui speraverit,*" scil. *egisse*, &c.—*Non milites adscire.* "He promoted no recruits (to the ranks of the legion)." Tacitus is speaking here not of levying soldiers, but of the promotion of recruits to the honor of serving in the legion through private favor (*studiis privatis*), or on the recommendation of the centurions. The term *milites* in its full force belonged only to the legionary troops. The *tirones* thought much of the honor of serving in the legion, and frequently importuned the centurions for this promotion. The prudence of Agricola, accordingly, provided against what occurred in after times, as we learn from Vegetius : "*Legionum nomen in exercitu permanet hodieque, sed per negligentiam superiorum temporum robur infractum est, cum virtutis præmia occuparet ambitio, et per gratiam promoverentur milites, qui promoveri consuerant per laborem.*" (*Veget.*, iii., 3.)

Sed optimum quemque, &c. "But he thought each best man the most faithful." Observe that *optimus* is here, in fact, equivalent to *fortissimus*. Compare Sallust (*Jug.*, 98) : "*Optimus quisque cadere.*" —*Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi.* "He knew all things, he did not punish all." Observe that *exsequi*, in the sense of *ulcisci*, is found not only in writers of this age, but in Livy, iii., 25, and v., 11. This meaning is deduced naturally enough from the literal signification of "to follow out."

Commodare. "He applied." There is no need, as Walther correctly remarks, of regarding this, with Walch, as an instance of zeugma. The meaning we have here given to the verb, and which is closely allied to its literal one, will suit equally well both *veniam* and *severitatem.*—*Nec pœna semper, sed sæpius*, &c. "Nor was he satisfied (only) with punishment always, but more frequently with repentance." There is no need whatever of our supplying *uti* with *pœna*, as Ernesti does. Cicero has *supplicio contentus* (*in Verr.*, ii., 37), and we need not object, therefore, to *pœna contentus* in the present instance.

Frumenti et tributorum auctionem, &c. "He mitigated the increase of the supply of corn and of the taxes by an equalizing of burdens," *i. e.*, he took care that all the inhabitants should be rated fairly, according to their property ; that the poor might not have to contribute more than the rich. In the term *tributa* Tacitus refers to poll-taxes and taxes upon property. These were increased, and, in some cases, doubled by Vespasian. (*Suet.*, *Vesp.*, 16.) *Munus* is the portion which each had to contribute.—*Circumcisis quæ in*

quæstum reperta, &c. "All those exactions having been abolished, which, devised for private gain, were endured more grievously than the taxes themselves," *i. e.*, were more grievous to be endured, &c. The meaning is, that Agricola put an end to all those devices for enriching themselves which had been practiced by the inferior officers of government, and were esteemed heavier burdens than the taxes themselves.

Namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis, &c. "For they were compelled, in mockery, to sit by the closed granaries, and to buy, besides, their own corn, and to sell it out again at a (small) fixed price." The meaning of this passage has been very generally misunderstood. The explanation which we here give from Walch will be found, on examination, to be decidedly the true one. From the provinces, at least during the times of the republic, and from Sicily, the Romans procured corn in three different ways; namely, by means of the *frumentum decumanum*, *emtum*, and *æstimatum*. (Consult *Cic. in Verr.*, *Act.* ii., *lib.* iii., 6–98.) The *frumentum decumanum* was the tenth part of the produce of the *ager publicus* or *decumanus*. It was exacted from the cultivators without payment (*Asconius, ad Cic.*, *Verr.*, p. 29), and had to be carried down to the sea (*Cic. in Verr.*, iii., 14); but was generally purchased or contracted for by the revenue-farmers, who were thence called *decumani*, and who either sent it to Rome or sold it in the provinces. The *emtum frumentum* was corn which was furnished in compliance with the orders of the proconsul, to supply the wants of the armies or of the capital, and for which a fixed price was paid, at first from the public treasury, and afterward from that of the emperor. When the governor of the province was in league with the *decumani*, the latter, by means of such edicts as those mentioned by Cicero (*in Verr.*, ii., 3, 13, 14), got all the corn in the country into their power, as in the case of the Britons alluded to in the text, who were compelled to purchase it back from the Romans at a high price, both for their own consumption, and in order to furnish the *emtum frumentum*, for which they were paid only the small fixed price. By *horreis*, therefore, in the text, are meant the public or Roman granaries, and not, as some most erroneously think, the private ones of individuals. With regard to *ultro*, observe that it has here the force of *insuper*, or *amplius*, and consult *Bötticher*, *Lex. Tac.*, *s. v.*

Devortia itinerum, &c. "By-roads and distant parts of the country were appointed," *i. e.*, as the quarters unto which the corn was to be carried. Here Tacitus refers to the *frumentum æstimatum*, as

it was called. The provincial magistrates had money given them from the treasury, or from the emperor's purse, for the purpose of buying corn for their own use, at a valuation fixed by the senate (HS. iv., for a modius of wheat, HS. ii., for one of barley), which was to be carried to whatever place they chose. They might either exact the corn, or else a certain sum for that and for the expense of its conveyance. Now corrupt and fraudulent magistrates always appointed some place at a great distance, and away from the common route, unto which the corn was to be conveyed, and then commuted in money with the farmer, at a heavy loss to the latter and great profit to themselves. (*Ascon. in Verr.*, 29.) That frauds of this kind were practiced down to the latest period, under the emperors, is seen from a prohibition of Valerian's on the subject.

Deferrent. Supply *frumenta.*—*Quod omnibus in promtu erat.* "What offered itself in abundance to all."—*Paucis.* The procurator of the province and his officials.

CHAPTER XX.

Hæc comprimendo. "By suppressing these abuses."—*Egregiam famam paci circumdedit.* "He threw around peace an excellent reputation," *i. e.*, he established a very favorable idea of peace. Compare the Greek idiom: *περιτιθέναι τινὶ ἀτιμίαν* (*Thuc.*, vi., 89); and, again, *αἰσχύναις τὴν πόλιν περιβαλεῖν* (*Isocr.*, *Archid.*, 318).—*Quæ.* The antecedent is *pax.* They were despoiled and oppressed in peace just as much as in war, and therefore the former was no less dreaded than the latter.—*Tolerantia.* "Connivance." More literally, "sufferance," *i. e.*, suffering oppression to be exercised, and secretly sharing in the spoils. We have given here *tolerantia*, the emendation of Rhenanus, and far superior to *intolerantia* ("oppression"), the MS. reading. The former is adopted, also, by Brotier, Ernesti, Oberlin, Walch, I. Bekker, &c.

Sed ubi æstas advenit, &c. During this summer Agricola seems to have penetrated to the Solway Frith. That he did not proceed further appears from the subsequent chapters. In chap. xxii., the expression *Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit* would hardly have been used if he had already penetrated as far as Edinburgh, as some imagine, in the second summer. It was the western portion of the Brigantes whom he now subdued, and, accordingly, the conquests of Cerialis lay in the eastern part of their country. They were only partially subdued by the latter (chapter xvii.); and his successor, Frontinus, seems not to have completed

his undertakings.—*Militum in agmine*, &c. Some editors read *multum*, others *multus*. Both of these, however, are too abrupt here, though *multus* is better, in point of Latinity, than *multum*.—*Disjectos coercere.* "He restrained the stragglers."

Loca castris ipse capere. Many traces of these encampments still remain; two in particular, situated in Annandale, called *Burnswork* and *Middleby*, are described by Gordon (*Itin. Sept.*, p. 16, 18).—*Æstuaria.* "The estuaries." The term *æstuarium* is used to denote the wide mouths of rivers, which are fordable or very shallow at low water, but resemble arms of the sea at high tide. Such, on the western coast, are those of the *Dee*, the *Mersey*, the *Ribble*, *Morecambe Bay*, and *Solway Frith*.—*Et nihil interim apud hostes*, &c. "And in the mean time suffered nothing (to be so far) quiet among the enemy, as that he should not ravage (their country) by sudden excursions," *i. e.*, and in the mean time perpetually disquieted and harassed the enemy by sudden excursions. The expression *subitis excursibus* implies that there were towns or intrenchments at hand, from which these sallies were made.—*Irritamenta pacis.* "Incentives to peace." (Compare *Hist.*, ii., 62: "*Irritamenta gulæ.*")

Ex æquo egerant. "Had acted on an equality (with the Romans)." The expression *ex æquo*, being a somewhat general one, must, of course, derive its particular shade of meaning from the context. Here it implies that they had maintained their ground, and preserved their liberty against the encroachments of the Roman power.—*Et præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ*, &c. "And were surrounded with garrisons and forts, (disposed) with so much judgment and attention, that no part of Britain new (to us) before could fall away without being (at the instant) attacked," *i. e.*, could pass over to the foe unhindered. Observe that *transierit* has here the force of *transire potuerit*. The true meaning of this passage is extremely doubtful. We have given the explanation of Walther, as the most satisfactory.

CHAPTER XXI.

Sequens hiems. This was in A.D. 78–80.—*Saluberrimis consiliis.* "In most wholesome measures."—*In bella faciles.* "Prone to war." —*Ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent.* Julius's hoff, or house (the house of Julius Agricola), and Arthur's oven, in Stirling, near the mouth of the Carron, are said to have been built under the direction of Agricola. As we soon afterward find Eboracum an important city, the residence of the British governor, and sometimes of the emperor himself, it is not unlikely that Agricola founded this

city about this time in the country of the Brigantes, to promote the civilization of this wild tribe.—*Ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat.* "In this way an honorable rivalry supplied the place of compulsion," *i. e.*, in this way he produced a spirit of honorable rivalry, which had all the force of compulsion.

Jam vero principum, &c. The same line of policy was pursued by Augustus (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 48) and by other Roman emperors (*Ann.*, ii., 2; xi., 16; xii., 10). Perhaps Agricola established schools, as Caligula did in Gaul and Belgium.—*Et ingenia Britannorum*, &c. "And he gave the preference to the natural talents of the Britons, rather than to the laborious efforts exerted by the Gauls." Some, less correctly, suppose that *anteferre* here means "to cause to excel." Gauls frequently found their way to Britain, and ingratiated themselves with the princes of the country, to the exclusion of the more talented but less cultivated natives.

Ut qui modo linguam Romanam, &c. "So that they who lately refused to make use of the Roman language began to desire its eloquence," *i. e.*, were now ambitious of becoming eloquent in it. In their communications with the governor, and in judicial proceedings, the Britons would be required to use the Latin tongue.—*Habitus nostri honor.* "Our mode of dress began to be held in honor." Supply *erat*.—*Delinimenta vitiorum.* "The blandishments of vicious pleasures."—*Humanitas.* "Refinement."—*Cum pars servitutis esset.* "When, in reality, it constituted a part of their slavery."

CHAPTER XXII.

Tertius annus. The time meant is A.D. 80.—*Novas gentes.* Those, namely, between the Solway Frith and the Frith of Tay, in Annandale, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Berwick, Lothian, Stirling, Menteith, Perth, and Fife, through which ran a Roman road.—*Taum.* Not the *Tweed*, which does not form an estuary, but the *Tay*. Cerialis had before this penetrated to the Tweed.—*Conflictatum.* "Having to struggle with."—*Castellis.* The remains of some of these are still to be seen between *Ardoch* and *Innerpeffery*. The principal one was at Ardoch, and so situated as to command the entrance into two valleys, *Strathallen* and *Strathern*, thus illustrating the remark made immediately after this by Tacitus, respecting the skill displayed by Agricola in choosing advantageous situations for his forts. Consult *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, pt. ii., p. 101, where a description and plan of the remains of this last-mentioned fortress are given.—*Aut pactione ac fuga desertum.* "Or was aban-

doned through capitulation and flight." Oberlin's edition has *aut fuga* by a typographical error, which is repeated, however, by Weikert, Naudet, and Weise.

Nam adversus moras obsidionis, &c. "For they were secured against a lengthened siege by supplies of provisions for a whole year." Literally, "against the delays of a siege." Some, less correctly, refer *annuis copiis* to supplies of fresh troops.—*Intrepida.* "Passed without alarm." Supply *erat.*—*Irritis.* "Being baffled." —*Pensare.* "To make up for." The simple verb for the compound "*compensare*."—*Juxta pellebantur.* "Were alike pressed hard."

Per alios gesta avidus intercepit. "Greedily intercept (the glory of) things achieved by others," *i. e.*, with a greedy desire of distinction. Observe that *avidus* here has, by a poetic usage, the force of an adverb, and compare *Zumpt*, § 682.—*Seu centurio seu præfectus*, &c. "Whether it were a centurion or a commander of a legion, he had (in Agricola) an impartial witness of what had been done," *i. e.*, of his achievement. Supply *esset* after *centurio.*

Acerbior in conviciis. "Somewhat harsh in his reproaches," *i. e.*, in reproof, when reproving any one.—*Injucundus.* "Austere."—*Secretum et silentium ejus.* "His reserve and silence," *i. e.*, his reserved and silent manner.—*Odisse.* "To cherish secret hatred"

CHAPTER XXIII.

Quarta æstas. A.D. 81.—*Obtinendis quæ percurrerat.* "In securing the country which he had overrun." Supply *loca.* Observe that *obtineo* is used here in its common signification of "to hold against another," "to secure the possession of," &c. Compare the remark of Gronovius: "Obtinere *est perseverare in tenendo, quod Galli dicunt* maintenir."—*Pateretur.* "Had allowed."—*Inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus.* "A limit (to our conquests) would have been found in Britain itself," *i. e.*, within that part of the island described immediately after as lying to the south of the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth.* Here ancient Britannia ended and Caledonia began. It was in this same quarter that the rampart of Antoninus was subsequently erected by Lollius Urbicus, the imperial legate.

Clota et Bodotria, &c. "The estuaries of Clota and Bodotria, carried back deep into the land by the tides of opposite seas." The reference is, as already remarked, to the *Frith of Clyde* and the *Frith of Forth.*—*Revectæ.* Observe that *re* has not unfrequently the force here assigned it in composition; as in *repostus*, "placed far back." Compare, also, Horace's *reducta vallis* (*Epod.*, ii., 11.)

Atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur. "And the whole bend of the coast, in the more immediate neighborhood (of the isthmus) was (likewise) occupied (with forts)." As regards the force of *sinus* here, consult notes on *Germ.*, i. The chain of forts across the isthmus was sufficient to prevent any irruption of the enemy by land; while, to check their attempts by sea, in which way the Picts made their incursions in later times, Agricola had fortresses built *east and west in the adjacent region*, which were united with the main chain. It is this adjacent region, to the east and west of the isthmus, that Tacitus means to indicate by the expression "*propior sinus*." The work now called *Graham's Dike* was erected by Lollius under the Antonines, but coincided with Agricola's line, which ran from *Old Kirk-Patrick* on the *Frith of Clyde*, to *Abercorn* on the *Frith of Forth.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

Quinto anno. A.D. 82.—*Nave prima transgressus.* "Having crossed over in the first ship," *i. e.*, having crossed the estuary of the Clota in the first Roman fleet that had ventured narrowly to examine this part of the coast. We have here given what appears to be the true explanation of this much-contested clause, and most in unison with the expression *ignotas ad id tempus gentes*, immediately following. Agricola might have marched his forces through the isthmus without having recourse to ships, but probably the appearance of a fleet would be more calculated to strike terror into the nations along the coast.

Eamque partem Britanniæ, &c. The reference is to *Carrick*, *Galloway*, *Wight*, and perhaps, also, to *Argyle*, *Annan*, and *Bute.*—*Copiis.* "With troops."—*In spem magis, quam ob formidinem.* "With the hope rather (of future conquests) than from any apprehension (of attack)," *i. e.*, more because he hoped at some future time to achieve the conquest of Ireland, than because he dreaded any interruption from that quarter.—*Medio inter Britanniam*, &c. (Compare chapter x.)—*Opportuna.* "Lying commodiously."—*Valentissimam imperii partem*, &c. "Might unite the most powerful portion of our empire by great mutual advantages," *i. e.*, might form a very beneficial connection between the most powerful parts of our empire, namely, Britain, Gaul, and Spain, by means of commercial transactions, and an interchange of their respective products. —*Miscuerit.* In Greek we should have had ἄν with the optative.

Nostri maris. The Mediterranean.—*Ingenia cultusque.* "The

intellectual character, and the usages."—*Aditus portusque.* "The approaches to its coasts and its harbors." A great deal of useless trouble has been taken by commentators with the sentence of which these words form part. The reading which we have given is the simplest and best.—*Unum ex regulis.* "One of the petty kings."—*Sæpe ex eo audivi.* Some take *eo* to mean this petty king, and accordingly conclude that Tacitus was at this time in Britain. But there can be little doubt that it refers to Agricola.

CHAPTER XXV.

Æstate, qua sextum, &c. A.D. 83.—*Officii.* "Of his government."—*Amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas.* "Having embraced (in his plans) the states situated beyond the Bodotria." The reference is to the eastern parts of Scotland, north of the *Frith of Forth*, where are now the counties of *Fife*, *Kinross*, *Perth*, *Angus*, &c. With regard to *amplexus*, as here employed, observe that the fuller and more Augustan form of expression would have been "*Civitates ad subigendum animo et cogitatione complexus.*"—*Infesta.* "Infested by." Observe that *infesta* has here a passive sense, and compare *Cic.*, *de Prov. Cons.*, 2: "*Via barbarorum excursionibus infesta.*" A much inferior reading is *infesta hostilis exercitus*, &c., where *infesta* must have an active force.

Portus classe exploravit. Agricola's plan was, apparently, that the fleet should support the army, which probably kept near the coast; and, if the latter met with too powerful an opposition at any of the passes, should land troops in the rear of the enemy.—*In partem virium.* "As a part of his forces." *Virium* is here equivalent to *copiarum.*—*Egregia specie.* "With imposing display."—*Impelleretur.* "Was urged on." The simple verb *pellere* is, properly, "to put in motion;" hence the force of *impellere* here. Comparing "*Sive casus res humanas sine ordine impellit*" (*Sen.*, *Ep.*, 16), and "*Placidum æquor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli*" (*Ann.*, ii., 23), no difficulty need be raised at the expression *impellere bellum.*

Mixti copiis et lætitia. "Mingled together in forces and in joy," *i. e.*, mingled together in joyous groups. Compare the German version of Strombeck, "*in freudigen Schaaren gemischt;*" and also that of Bötticher, "*fröhlich in buntem Gemisch.*" Some commentators refer *copiis* here to the camp-stores of provisions. If this idea be adopted, the meaning will be, "mingled together at abundant and joyous messes;" this mode of interpreting, however, is far

less natural, and less in accordance with the context.—*Attollerent.* In the sense of *extollerent.* (Consult *Ernesti, ad Ann.*, xv., 30).—*Adversa.* "The hardships."—*Victus oceanus.* We have adopted here the emendation of Lipsius. The common reading is *auctus oceanus*, "the ocean swelled by tempests." But *victus oceanus* is far more spirited, and is more in unison with *militari jactantia* immediately following. Compare, also, "*Domitus oceanus*" (*Suet., Claud.*, 17), and "*Spolia oceani*" (*Suet., Cal.*, 46).

Ad manus et arma. "To action and to arms."—*Paratu magno, majore fama*, &c. "With great preparation, with the still greater fame (as is usual with reports concerning what is unknown) that they had commenced hostilities," *i. e.*, with great preparations, but augmented by the report (as is usual where the truth is unknown) of having commenced hostilities. The infinitive *oppugnasse* depends on *fama*, as Walch correctly remarks; and, according to this same commentator, the meaning of the passage is the same as if Tacitus had written *Magisque id fama celebrante "en oppugnarunt Britanni ultro Romana castella."*—*Castella.* Some forts in *Fife*, *Perth*, and *Strathern*, the remains of which still exist; manifestly, from what follows, not the line of fortifications between the Friths of Clyde and Forth.

Et excedendum potius quam pellerentur. The alteration of *potius* to *prius* (as proposed by Gronovius) is unnecessary. Compare *Plaut. Aul.*, i., 1, 11: "*Utinam me divi adaxint ad suspendium, Potius quidem, quam hoc pacto apud te serviam*;" and *Liv.*, xxxiv., 25, "*Hortatusque conjuratos, qui aderant, ut potius quam extorti morerentur arma secum caperent.*"—*Specie prudentium.* "With the air of prudent advisers," *i. e.*, under the mask of prudence.—*Hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos.* "That the enemy intended to bear down upon him in several bodies."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Universi nonam legionem, &c. Brotier, following Gordon (*It. Sept.*, p. 32), places the scene of this occurrence in Fife, where the remains of a Roman camp are found at Lochore. We must not suppose, however, that all the remains of Roman intrenchments in this part are to be referred to the time of Agricola; many were built under the Antonines and Severus. After a careful examination of the whole subject, Walch comes to the conclusion that the ninth legion, which the enemy, altering their plan, fell upon with their whole force, must have been posted further northward than

Fife, in Angus, or perhaps Mar. If Agricola had been in the district of Fife, which is hardly eight miles broad, he would probably have immediately sought the enemy at the intrenchments.

Assultare. "To charge."—*Propinqua luce.* "At daybreak."—*Ancipiti malo.* The battle in front and rear.—*Securi pro salute, de gloria certabant.* "At ease respecting their safety, they (now) contended for glory." Ernesti and other modern editors have changed the reading in the text, which is that of the old editions and the Vatican MS., into *Securi de salute pro gloria certabant.* This, however, is unnecessary. Compare "*Numquam apud vos verba feci, aut pro vobis sollicitior, aut pro me securior.*" (*Hist.*, iv., 58.)—*Ultro quin etiam irrupere.* "They (now), moreover, of their own accord rushed upon the foe."—*Utroque exercitu.* The two divisions of the Roman forces, namely, the ninth legion in the camp, and the troops that had come to their aid.—*Debellatum foret.* "The war would have been ended."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus. "The army elated by the intrepidity and fame of this achievement." Observe that *cujus* refers back to *victoria* in the previous chapter. We have given to the words *constantia ac fama* their plain and natural signification. Walch makes them a hendiadys for *constanti fama*, "enduring (*i. e.*, wide-spread) fame," but without any necessity. Lipsius, on the other hand, conjectured *conscientia ac fama*, a reading actually found afterward in one of the MSS., and which Ernesti, Dronke, and others have adopted. This, however, as Walther correctly remarks, wants spirit. There is a great deal of truth in the observation of Dureau de Lamalle: "*Constantia victoriæ* est une magnifique expression, qu'il faut bien se garder d'affaiblir. Le style doit avoir ici autant d'audace que la victoire en donnait au soldat."—*Invium.* "Inaccessible."—*Continuo cursu.* "By one continued career."

Atque illi modo cauti, &c. Compare chap. xxv.: "*Regrediendumque . . . . . ignavi admonebant.*"—*Iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est.* "Such is ever the very unfair condition of warlike operations." Observe that *est* is here the present aorist, and *hæc* elegantly employed for *talis.*—*At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione,* &c. "The Britons, however, thinking that it had not been brought about by valor, but merely by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, and by the skill of the commander," *i. e.*, that their defeat was not owing to the valor of the Roman troops, but to mere chance and the

skill of Agricola. After *rati* supply *fuisse*. Commentators generally think that there is something corrupt in this sentence, and propose various corrections, such as *arte ducis se victos rati*, or, *non ut virtute, sed arte ducis superati*, &c. There is no need, however, of any alteration. The sentence is merely an elliptical one, in full accordance with the wonted conciseness of Tacitus, and the simple mode of supplying the ellipsis, which we have adopted, will remove every difficulty.

Quo minus armarent. "But armed." Literally, "so as not to arm."—*Atque ita irritatis discessum.* "And thus the parties separated with imbittered feelings on both sides."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Cohors Usipiorum. Compare *Germ.*, 32. The doubt which suggests itself as to the means by which the Romans could levy soldiers at this time among the Germans, when it was not till the reign of Trajan that the Roman power was re-established on the right bank of the Rhine, is removed by the fact that many tribes in this part were, even at this time, dependent allies of the Romans. This cohort was most probably part of the forces stationed by Agricola in Kintyre, Carrick, and Galloway. From Dio Cassius (lxvi., 20), it appears that the course of this circumnavigation was from west to east, that is, they set out from the western side of the island, and coasting along all that part of Scotland, abounding in intricate and dangerous navigation, passed round by the north.—*Magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est.* "Performed a very daring and memorable enterprise."

Exemplum et rectores habebantur. "Served as a pattern and (at the same time) as controllers of their conduct." Compare De Lamalle: "*qui, faits pour leur servir de modèle, avaient sur eux une sorte d' autorité.*"—*Tres liburnicas.* Consult notes on *Germ.*, 9.—*Ascendere.* "To go on board."—*Et uno remigrante.* "And one of the number having escaped." Literally, "having gone back." Observe that the present participles of intransitive verbs are frequently to be taken as if they were perfect participles. Thus, *descendens* (*Vell. Pat.*, ii., 25); *descendenti* (*Liv.*, xxi., 32); *revertentem* (*Agric.*, 9), &c. We have given *remigrante* here, with the old editions. The reading *remigante*, which Lallemand, Oberlin, and some others adopt, from one of the MSS., is, as Walch correctly remarks, neither Latin nor sense. The Latin idiom requires *gubernante*, since we say of a pilot, *navem gubernare*, not *remigare*; and then, again, the words

uno remigante stand in almost direct contradiction to *amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus.*

Nondum vulgato rumore. "The report of the affair not having as yet been noised abroad," *i. e.*, the report of their mutiny and flight.—*Ut miraculum prævehebantur.* "They were carried along (the coast) as a kind of prodigy." Observe that *prævehebantur* is equivalent here to *prætervehebantur*, and compare *prævehitur* (*Ann.*, ii., 6). The inhabitants of the islands and shores on the west of Britain, along which the Usipii sailed, were astonished at the wonderful sight, and regarded it in the light of a prodigy.—*Hac atque illa rapti.* "Driven about in this direction and in that." Compare the language of Dio Cassius, in speaking of the same circumstance: Ὥς που τό τε κῦμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε (lxvi., 20).

Eo ad extremum inopiæ venere. "They came at last to that degree of destitution."—*Infirmissimos.* Strict classical usage would require the ablative after *vescerentur.* (*Zumpt*, § 466.)—*Mox sorte ductos.* "And then upon those that were drawn by lot," *i. e.*, and after they had fed on the weakest, then on those of their number that chanced to draw the fatal lot.—*Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam.* After they had reached the northern extremity of Scotland, they passed through the *Pentland Frith* toward the east, sustaining new encounters with the inhabitants of *Caithness*, *Sutherland*, *Murray*, *Buchan*, &c. Dio mentions that they nearly lighted upon the Roman camp: καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα προςσχόντες. (*Dio.*, *l. c.*)

Amissis per inscitiam, &c. It is possible, though not necessary, to suppose that these Usipii were forced by stress of weather into the Baltic Sea. The name *Suevi* was borne by many tribes (*Germ.*, 38), and there is no reason why we may not suppose that it was the appellation of some of those (*Germ.*, 40), which we find in the region afterward possessed by the Saxons and Angles. It is difficult to determine how, after being intercepted by the Suevi, the Usipii fell into the hands of the Frisii. We must suppose that, either when attempting to reach their native country by land, or endeavoring to work their way round on the wrecks of their vessels, they were intercepted by some Suevi, and these, in turn, captured by some Frisian pirates. That piracy in these quarters was of very ancient origin is proved by the example of Gannascus (*Ann.*, xi., 18).—*In nostram ripam.* The left bank of the Rhine.—*Indicium tanti casus illustravit.* "The proof (thus afforded) of so extraordinary an adventure made objects of notoriety."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Initio æstatis. This is the commencement of a new summer, A.D. 84. The expression *eadem æstate* (chap. xxviii.) shows that Tacitus had finished his regular account of Agricola's proceedings during the previous year, and that the narrative of the adventures of the Usipii is to be looked upon as a kind of supplement. Some editors, however, supply *septimæ*, which, when abbreviated into VII., might be absorbed by the letters VIT at the close of the last chapter.—*Neque ambitiose tulit.* "He neither endured with an ostentatious firmness," *i. e.*, he did not affect a stoical indifference in order to excite the admiration of others.—*Rursus.* "On the other hand." Observe that *rursus* has here the force of *contra*, and consult *Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, *s. v.*, p. 415.—*Et in luctu*, &c. Observe that *et* has here the force of *sed.* (Consult *Bötticher, Lex. Tac.*, *s. v.*, § v., p. 178.)

Quæ. "In order that it."—*Magnum et incertum terrorem.* "An extensive and dubious alarm," *i. e.*, in many and various places.—*Longa pace exploratos.* "Approved by a long allegiance." By *pace* is meant a peaceful submission to the Roman sway.—*Ad montem Grampium pervenit.* In the ancient Scottish tongue this ridge was called *Grantzbain*, now the Grampian Hills. It runs from Dumbarton to Aberdeenshire. In Strathern, about half a mile south of the Kirk of Comerie, is a valley nearly a mile broad, and some miles long, through which the Erne and Ruchel flow. Here are the remains of two Roman camps, with a double wall and trench, one large enough to contain the eight thousand men which Agricola led to battle, the other smaller, and suited for the three thousand cavalry. Two miles southeast is a third camp, in which two legions might be conveniently quartered. They were, perhaps, posted here by Agricola, that he might keep up a communication with the fleet. The place itself still bears the name of *Galgachan Rossmoor*, taken from that of the Caledonian leader.

Cruda ac viridis senectus. "A hale and vigorous old age." Compare Virgil (*Æn.*, vi., 304): "*Sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.*" So in Greek, ὠμὸν γῆρας, and ὠμογέρων.—*Ac sua quisque decora gestantes.* "And bearing each their honorary decorations," *i. e.*, the trophies won from enemies; not, as Ernesti thinks, the honorary rewards they had received for their valor.—*Calgacus.* The more correct form of the name, as restored by Ernesti and Brotier from MSS. and early editions. The common text has *Galgacus.* Becker thinks that *Calgarus* is the true form, and refers in support of his opinion to Ossian!

CHAPTER XXX.

Causas belli et necessitatem nostram. "The causes of the war, and our present necessity," *i. e.*, the motives that necessarily impel us to war.—*Nam et universi servitutis expertes.* "For we are both, all of us, free (as yet) from slavery." Supply *nos* before *universi*, and *sumus* after *expertes*, and compare *Annibal peto pacem* (*Liv.*, xxx., 29), and *Achæi arma Romana sustinebimus* (*Id.*, xxxii., 21).—*Prœlium atque arma.* By no means synonymous merely, as some suppose. *Prœlium* marks here the beginning of the conflict, and *arma* the maintaining of it gallantly by arms and prowess.—*Spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant.* "Had their hope and last resource in our prowess." In ordinary prose the sentence would have run as follows: "*Priorum pugnarum spes sita est in nostris manibus*;" and the general idea is this, "In all the battles which have yet been fought against the Romans, our countrymen may be deemed to have reposed their final hopes and resources in us."—*Nobilissima totius Britanniæ.* The Caledonians looked upon themselves as an indigenous race, and therefore styled themselves the noblest. Compare *Cæsar* (*B. G.*, vi., 12): "*Interior pars ab iis colitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoriæ proditur.*"—*Eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti.* "And, therefore, situated in its very inmost recesses." As in the *penetralia* of a dwelling all that was most valued was preserved, so here, in the very heart of Britain, in the very sanctuary, as it were, of the land, dwell the noblest and bravest of her sons.

Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, &c. "Ourselves, the farthest people of the world and of freedom, our very remoteness, and the bosom of fame (which has thus far cherished us), have up to this day defended," *i. e.*, we, dwelling at the extremity of the world, and the last people who have preserved their freedom, have been defended thus far by both the remoteness of our situation, and by the circumstance of our being the cherished ones of fame. The expression *sinus famæ* has occasioned considerable difficulty here. Lipsius understands it as meaning that the Caledonians were scarcely known to fame; that they were in *sinu famæ conditi*; and Gronovius adopts the same interpretation. But we have preferred the explanation of Walther, which seems to suit the context better. This last-mentioned editor compares *sinus famæ* with the expressions "*gestare in sinu*," "*habere in sinu*," &c.; and as these generally refer to something cherished and valued, so here the same idea is, by a bold figure of speech, applied to the words of the text.—*Nunc*

terminus Britanniæ patet, &c. "Now, (however), the extremity of Britain lies open to the view (of our foes), and whatever is unknown (merely) becomes an object of magnitude." The first part of this sentence, *terminus Britanniæ patet*, gives the reason why their remoteness of situation will no longer defend them; and the latter part, *omne ignotum pro magnifico est*, shows in like manner why their former fame will no longer serve as a protection; for the Romans, who, when at a distance, magnified their strength, from knowing little concerning it, will, now that they are near, conceive a less formidable idea respecting it.

Sed nulla jam ultra gens, &c. The connecting idea between this and the previous sentence is purposely suppressed by the writer, from motives of brevity, and must be supplied by the reader: "Some one here may say, '*Let us then ask the aid of other nations*,' but there is no nation beyond us," &c.—*Et infestiores Romani.* "And (on the other side are) the Romans, still more hostile (even than these)," *i. e.*, than the waves and rocks.—*Raptores.* "The plunderers."—*Et mare.* "The ocean, also."

Opes atque inopiam. "Wealth and indigence," *i. e.*, wealthy and indigent communities. Equivalent to *opulentos atque inopes.*—*Imperium.* "Empire."

CHAPTER XXXI.

Hi per delectus, alibi servituri, &c. Britons are traced in Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, and elsewhere. (*Cannegiet. de Brittenb.*, p. 57.) So we find Sigambri in Thrace (*Ann.*, iv., 47), and Ligurians in Numidia (*Sall.*, *Jug.*, 100.)—*Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt*, &c. "They consume our goods and property in taxes, the produce of the year in contributions of corn." We must not confound *egĕrunt* here (from *egero*) with *egērunt* (from *ago*), as some have very strangely done. As regards the force of *egerere* here, compare *Quintil.*, *Declam.*, 5, 17: "*Census in exsequias egerere*," and consult *Walch, ad loc.*—*Annos.* Employed here for *proventus annorum.* So *Lucan*, iii., 452: "*Agricolæ raptum flevere juvencis annum.*" Compare *Germ.*, 14: "*Nec arare terram et exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris*," &c.

Silvis ac paludibus emuniendis. "In making roads through woods and over marshes." *Munire* is used properly when a piece of work is performed by a number of persons, to each of whom a portion is allotted. The root is the same as in *munus*, "a task." Hence, *munire viam* is not to fortify a road, but simply to make one.—*Ver-*

bera inter ac contumelias. Observe here the anastrophe of the preposition after the manner of the poets, an arrangement admitted also, though less frequently, by other writers besides Tacitus, but chiefly those, like him, of the silver age. So we have "*insulam inter Germanosque*" (*Hist.*, v., 19); "*ripam ad Euphratis*" (*Ann.*, vi., 37); "*hostem propter*" (*Ann.*, iv., 48).—*Britannia servitutem suam*, &c. Namely, by paying tribute, and supplying the Roman armies with food. Observe that *pascere* is properly used with reference to cattle.

Et conservis. Observe that *et* has here the force of *etiam.*—*In hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu.* "In this ancient household of the world," *i. e.*, amid this troop of nations subjected in succession from of old.—*Novi nos et viles.* Equivalent to *nos tanquam novi et viles.*—*Quibus exercendis reservemur.* "For bestowing our labors upon which we may be reserved." We have given *exercendis* here a general signification, which suits equally well all the three nouns that precede. In strictness, however, there is a zeugma in the term, since *exercendis* properly applies only to *arva* and *metalla*, "the working of fields and mines," while in connection with *portus* it refers to the collecting of customs and port-duties for the benefit of others. Some editors think that *exercere portus* is meant to denote here the servile drudgery of rowing. This, however, is not correct, since the allusion in *portus*, as in *arva* and *metalla*, is to sources of gain eagerly sought after by Roman cupidity.

Brigantes femina duce, &c. Cambden substituted *Trinobantes* for *Brigantes* here, from Dio Cassius (lxii., 1), and *Ann.*, xiv., 31; and in this he has been followed by several editors. But the alteration is unnecessary. The insurrection of the Britons against Suetonius Paulinus began with the Iceni, and their queen Boadicea. With the Iceni were united the Trinobantes, *et qui alii, nondum servitio fracti, resumere libertatem occultis conjurationibus pepigerant.* (*Ann.*, xiv., 31.) By these we can not well understand the Silures, in whose territory Suetonius was posted; and, accordingly, we must look to the northern tribes above the Iceni. The wide extent of the Brigantes, the loose connection of some of the tribes with their queen, Cartismandua, and their fondness for warlike adventure, which is marked by their very name (Brigands), render it not unlikely that some of the southern divisions of this race took part in the insurrection of their neighbors. Why, moreover, should Calgacus mention the remote and comparatively small tribe of the Trinobantes, rather than the neighboring and powerful one of the Brigantes? (Compare *Ann.*, xii., 32.)

Et libertatem non in præsentia laturi. There is some corruption

in the text here, and endless conjectures have been hazarded respecting it; but no one seems to have discovered the true reading. The corrections may be divided into two classes. 1. Those which make the words contain merely a repetition of the idea conveyed by *integri et indomiti;* as, *libertatem non in præsentia illaturi; lib. non in præsenti ablaturi; lib. non in præsens vindicaturi.* Most of the interpreters keep the words *libertatem laturi*, and explain *laturi* in the sense of carrying off as a prize. Compare "*Plus flagitii et periculi laturos*" (*Ann.*, vi., 34), and *οἰσόμενοι δόξαν* (*Thucyd.*, ii., 12). The general meaning given to the sentence is, "We, who have not now for the first time to win our freedom." And this, no doubt, is the best view to be taken of the subject. 2. Those which make a sort of opposition between the two clauses. Among these are, *Et lib. nunc demum periclitaturi* (Gronovius); *Et lib. omnem in procinctu laturi—Et lib. in præmium laturi* (Ernesti); *Et libertatem in præcipitem aleam laturi* (Walch). Compare "*Ne elatus felicitate summam rerum in non necessariam aleam daret.*" (*Liv.*, xxxvii., 36; xlii., 59.)

Non ostendamus. The employment of *non* for *nonne* is not unfrequent. Compare *Cic. in Verr.*, iv., 7: "*Quis vestrum igitur nescit, quanti hæc æstimentur? In auctione signum æneum non magnum* HS. CXX. *millibus venire non vidimus?*" and *Virg.*, *Æn.*, ix., 144: "*At, non viderunt mœnia Trojæ, Neptuni fabricata manu, considere in ignes?*"—*Seposuerit.* "Has reserved (for her defence)."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Lasciviam. "Dissoluteness."—*Ex diversissimis nationibus.* As, for example, the Britanni, Batavi, Tungri, Galli, Itali, &c. (Compare chapters xiii. and xxxvi.)—*Nisi si.* Consult note on "*nisi si patria sit*," *Germ.*, 2.—*Pudet dictu.* Instead of *pudet dicere.* Compare "*Puditum est factis*" (*Plaut.*, *Bacch.*, iii., 1, 12), and "*Quia dictu fastidienda sunt*" (*Val. Max.*, ix., 3, 2).—*Licet dominationi alienæ*, &c. "Although they afford their own blood unto a foreign dominion, yet for a longer period its foes than its subjects," *i. e.*, although they are now shedding their own blood in support of a foreign yoke. Observe that *commodare* has here its proper signification, namely, "*in gratiam alicujus aliquid præbere*," and consult *Bötticher*, *Lex. Tac.*, *s. v.*—*Metus et terror est.* "It is fear and terror (that retains them), feeble bonds of attachment," *i. e.*, that retains them in loyalty and affection (*fide et affectu tenet*).

Aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est. "Most of them have either no country, or else a different one from this," *i. e.*, one far away.

The meaning is as follows: the greater part are either the betrayers of their country, as the Britanni; or are fighting in a foreign land, as the Batavi, Tungri, Galli, &c.—*Paucos numero, circum trepidos ignorantia.* Some editors take *circum trepidos* to be equivalent to *circum trepidantes*, or *trepide circum vagantes*, while others strike out *circum.* But that would be equivalent to saying, *Qui non solum omnino trepidi sunt ignorantia, verum etiam ignorant, quæ in cælo*, &c., *appareant.* Most probably some such word as *locorum, viarum*, or *regionum* has been lost before *circum. Circum* must then be taken as in *Ann.*, xii., 55: "*Duri circum loci.*" The words may then be translated, "A few in number, dismayed through their ignorance of the surrounding country."

Nostras manus. "Our own bands," *i. e.*, numbers ready to unite with us. He alludes not merely to the Britons, but to the Gauls also, and the Germans.—*Tamquam nuper Usĭpii*, &c. Compare chapter xxviii.—*Senum coloniæ.* Only one colony is, in fact, meant. (Consult note on "*trucidati veterani, incensæ coloniæ*," chapter v.)—*Ægra et discordantia.* "Disaffected and distracted."—*Hic.* "Here (with us)."—*In hoc campo est.* "Depends upon this field," *i. e.*, depends upon your exertions in this field. Compare De Lamalle, "*il depend de vous, sur ce champ de bataille.*"

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Excepere orationem, &c. "They received his harangue with excited feelings, and, after the barbarian manner, with songs, and yells, and dissonant cries." The verb *excipere* is used in the same manner by Livy (xxiv., 31), "*Exceptus clamor ab aliis.*" Compare *Ann.*, ii., 38: "*Hæc plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere.*"—*Jamque agmina*, &c. Supply *apparent.* The ellipsis of this verb is common in Tacitus.—*Audentissimi cujusque procursu.* "In consequence of the hurrying to the front on the part of each most daring one." This assigns the reason why the *armorum fulgores* were seen, and there ought, therefore, as Walch remarks, to be a comma after *agmina.*—*Instruebatur acies.* "The army (of the Caledonians) was being drawn up in line."—*Coercitum.* "Capable of being restrained." This has here the force of an adjective in *ilis.* So, "*Genus mobile, infidum, neque beneficio neque metu coercitum.* (*Sall.*, *Jug.*, 91); and, again, "*Quamquam infinitum id existimatur, nec temere sine aliqua reprehensione tractatum*," instead of *tractabile* (*Plin.*, *H. N.*, iii., *Proëm.*)

Militem adhortatus. This perfect participle is in meaning equiv-

alent to a present participle. So *Horat.*, *Sat.*, ii., 3, 34, "*Solatus jussit sapientem pascere barbam;*" and *Hist.*, ii., 96, "*insectatus;*" *Ann.*, i., 40, "*complexus,*" &c. (Compare the remarks of *Böttícher*, p. xxxix.) Grammarians call this usage the employing of the perfect participle *ἀορίστως*, or indefinitely.—*Octavus annus est.* It was, in fact, only the seventh summer since he had arrived in Britain. But he probably includes the year 77, in which he was appointed governor, though he did not arrive in Britain till A.D. 78. It is possible, however, that *octavus* (viii.) may be a mistake for *septimus* (vii.).—*Virtute et auspiciis*, &c. "Through the energy and auspices of the Roman Empire, you have, by your fidelity and perseverance, been conquering Britain."—*Neque.* "Neither (during all this period)."

Veterum legatorum. Equivalent to *priorum legatorum.*—*Terminos.* Governed by *egressi.* (*Zumpt*, § 387.)—*Finem Britanniæ, non fama,* &c. "We are become acquainted with the extremity of Britain, not by widely disseminated accounts, nor by mere uncertain rumor, but by actual possession with our arms and encampments." Observe that *fama* and *rumore* are not mere synonyms here, as Walther and others suppose. The distinction is well laid down by Döderlein (*Lat. Syn.*, v., p. 233).—*Et vota virtusque in aperto.* "And your vows and valor have now free scope," *i. e.*, you have now an open field for fulfilling your vows and displaying your valor.

Pulchrum ac decorum in frontem. Lipsius took *frontem* here in the same sense as *speciem.* Brotier, also, translated it by *en apparence.* Some render it as if it were *proficiscentibus in frontem*, which would be rather a harsh expression. *Frons* here is equivalent to *acies; quæ adversus hostem spectat* (*Veget.*, iii., 14). Translate, therefore, the whole sentence as follows: "For, as the having surmounted so long a route, the having made our way through forests, the having crossed arms of the sea, is glorious and full of honor to an army marching against the foe; so are these same things," &c. *Pulchrum in frontem*, for *pulchrum fronti.* Observe that *pulchrum, jucundum, gratum mihi*, is the common expression; but Tacitus uses "*grata in vulgus*" (*Ann.*, ii., 59). So other writers say: "*dissimilis alicui;*" but Tacitus has, "*haud dissimili in dominum*" (*Ann.*, ii., 39); and "*Magnifica in populum largitio*" (*Ib.*, ii., 48).—*Hodie.* "This day." Well explained by Walther: "*Eo statu, quo hodie versamur;* oppositum est fugæ."

Jam pridem mihi decretum est. "I have long since come to the conclusion," *i. e.*, it has long been a principle of action with me.—*Neque exercitus, neque ducis terga tuta esse.* Compare Xenophon,

Cyrop., i., 3: *Μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἄοπλα, καὶ ἄχειρα, ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Constitisset. "Stood in array (against you)."—*Nunc.* "As it is, however," *i. e.*, as matters, however, actually are.—*Furto noctis.* "Under the stealthy covering of the night."—*Clamore.* "By a mere shout."—*Ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi.* "These, in respect of the rest of the Britons, the greatest fugitives of all." Observe here the peculiar and apparently illogical construction of *ceterorum* with the superlative, and which we have endeavored to soften down in translating. It is, in fact, an imitation of a Greek idiom. Thus, we have in Thucydides (i., 1), *'Αξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων πολέμων.* (Consult *Poppo*, *ad loc.*, and *Herm.*, *ad Vig.*, p. 718.)

Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus, &c. "As, when hunters penetrate into woods and thickets, each fiercest animal is laid low by the strength, the timorous and weak ones are put to flight by the very noise of the band, so," &c. The old reading was *ruere*, for which one of the MSS. gives *contra ruere*, the word *contra* having been written over the line by the copyist, evidently for the purpose, as Walch remarks, of imparting some sense to *ruere*. This latter reading is adopted by Brotier, the Bipont editor, Oberlin, Dronke, Bekker, and others; but the true lection, nevertheless, is *robore*, which the very opposition to *sono* plainly indicates. Besides, the infinitive *ruere* can not be used in this way after *quomodo* or *sicut*; while if we regard it, not as the infinitive, but the 3d pl. of the perfect (for *ruerunt*), we ought then to have the same tense, instead of the present, in *pelluntur*. According to the reading which we have adopted, both *robore* (i. e., *agminis*) and *ipso sono* are constructed with *pelluntur*, but there is a zeugma in the passage, and with *robore* we must, in fact, understand such a verb as *cæditur*. (Compare *Walch*, *ad loc.*)

Reliquus est numerus, &c. "There remains only a number of cowardly and timid men, whom you have found at last, not because they opposed you, but because, being the last, they have been overtaken and caught by you." The expression *quos quod tandem invenistis non restiterunt* is an imitation of the Greek idiom, for *qui, quod invenistis eos, non restiterunt.* So "*Urbem quam statuo vestra est*" (*Virg.*, *Æn.*, i., 573), and "*Eunuchum quem dedisti quas turbas dedit*" (*Ter.*, *Eun.*, iv., 3, 11).—*In his vestigiis.* "In this place

where they are standing."—*In quibus pulchram*, &c. "In order that you might, in this same place, show forth unto the world a glorious and imposing victory." Equivalent to *ut in iis* (*i. e.*, vestigiis) *ederetis*, &c.

Transigite cum expeditionibus. "Bring (now) your expeditions to a close." Equivalent to *finite expeditiones.* Compare *Germ.*, 19: "*Cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur*;" and *Ann.*, xii., 19: "*Bellorum egregios fines, quotiens ignoscendo transigatur.*"—*Imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem.* "Crown the fifty years with one glorious day." He is speaking in round numbers; from the expedition of A. Plautius it was only forty-two years.—*Approbate reipublicæ.* "Prove to your countrymen."

CHAPTER XXXV.

Et alloquente adhuc Agricola. "Both while Agricola was yet addressing them."—*Mediam aciem firmarent.* "Formed a strong centre." Observe that *firmarent* is equivalent here to *firmando formarent.* Compare *Liv.*, xxii., 46: "*Dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata*;" and, again, xxiii., 29: "*Mediam aciem Hispanis firmat.*" Under the expression *mediam aciem* Tacitus includes all the infantry between the two bodies of cavalry.—*Cornibus affunderentur.* "Were poured upon the wings," *i. e.*, were spread out and formed the wings.—*Pro vallo.* "Before the intrenchments," *i. e.*, in the rear of the auxiliaries.—*Ingens victoriæ decus*, &c. "A glorious ornament of victory unto the leader waging the fight without any effusion of Roman blood," *i. e.*, a disposition of his forces which would render the victory signally glorious, if it were obtained without the expense of Roman blood. The more common prose form of expression would have been, "*Ingens imperatoris in victoria decus, si bellaret citra Romanum sanguinem.*" As regards the force of *citra* here, consult note on *Germ.*, 16.

Ut primum agmen æquo, &c. "That the first line stood upon the plain, the others, as if linked together, rose one above the other along the ascent of the mountain."—*Media campi.* "The intervening space (between the two armies)." The space between the van of the Caledonians and the Roman line.—*Covinarius.* "The charioteers." Singular for the plural, as in *eques* immediately after. *Covinarius* signifies the driver of a *covinus* (Celtic *Kowain*), a kind of car, the spokes of which were armed with long sickles, and which was used as a scythe-chariot chiefly by the ancient Belgians and Britons. (*Dict. Ant.*, *s. v.*)—*Eques.* The cavalry of the Britons is

meant (for they had both charioteers and horse), not that of the Romans. (Compare note on "*interim equitum turmæ fugere*," &c., chap. xxxvi.)

Simul in frontem simul et latera. Gesner, without any necessity, reads *et in latera.* The preposition is understood. Compare *Ann.*, vi., 51: "*Quamquam mater in Liviam, et mox* (in) *Juliam familiam adoptionibus transierit.*" Similar examples of ellipsis in the case of *de*, *per*, *ad*, and *a* may be seen in *Wopkens*, *Act. Traj.*, ii., p. 67. Nothing is more in accordance with the conciseness of Tacitus.—*Diductis ordinibus.* "Having extended his ranks." Compare *Duker*, *ad Liv.*, v., 28. Virdung refers in illustration to the Greek ὑπερφαλαγγεῖν, "to extend the line of one's phalanx."—*Porrectior.* "More drawn out," *i. e.*, weaker.—*Promtior in spem.* Tacitus, also, uses *promtior alicui.* Thus, *Ann.*, iv., 60: "*Mater promtior Neroni erat.*" Older writers commonly have *promtus ad aliquid.*—*Pedes ante vexilla constitit.* "He took his station on foot before the ensigns."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Constantia. "With steadiness."—*Arte.* "With dexterity."—*Ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris.* "With huge swords and short targets." These targets (*cetræ*) were small and round, and made of the hide of a quadruped. The broad-sword and target long remained, even in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Scottish Highlanders.—*Vitare, vel excutere.* "Avoided or struck aside." According to Vegetius (i., 4), the Roman recruit was instructed *plagam prudenter evitare, et obliquis ictibus venientia tela deflectere.* This is what Tacitus expresses here by the words *evitare* and *excutere.*

Tungrorum duas. Many monuments of these Tungrian cohorts remain in Britain, on which we find the words COH. TUNGR. or COH. I. TUNGROR. MIL.—*Ad mucrones ac manus.* "To the sword-point and a hand-to-hand fight." The Britons struck with the edge of their swords (*cæsim*); the Romans, on the contrary, and the allies that were armed after the Roman fashion, used their shorter weapons for both cutting and thrusting (*cæsim et punctim*). On the present occasion the Batavians and Tungri are ordered to rush in to close quarters and employ the thrust, which would place their opponents completely at their mercy. (Compare *Vegetius*, i., 12, and *Brotier*, *ad loc.*)

Quod et ipsis vetustate militiæ exercitatum, &c. "A movement that was both familiar unto themselves, from long experience in

warfare, and embarrassing to the foe," &c. The small shields of the Britons did not cover their bodies, and their huge swords were not easily wielded at close quarters.—*Complexum armorum et in arcto pugnam.* "The thrusts of the Roman weapons, and a close fight." According to Ernesti, *complexus armorum* is *pugna quæ fit cominus et conserendis manibus.* Brotier understands it in the same sense : *Complexus est quod Gallice dicimus* "la mêlée," *cum cominus hostis petitur ;* if, however, this interpretation were correct, *complexus armorum* would have the same meaning as the following words, *in arcto pugna,* that is, *pugna cominus.* But as *in arcto pugnam* refers, apparently, to *manus* preceding (*ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent*), so *complexus* may refer to *mucrones ;* and it will then merely mean the blows or thrusts of the Roman weapons.—*In arcto pugnam.* So, "*in arcto pugna*" (*Liv.*, xxviii., 33). The old reading was *in aperto,* which does not suit the meaning.

Miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, &c. Observe the air of rapidity and animation which the succession of infinitives imparts to the narration.—*Erigere aciem.* Consult notes on chap. xviii., "*erexit aciem.*"—*Æmulatione et impetu.* "Through emulation of their example, and their own native impetuosity."—*Festinatione victoriæ.* "In their eager pursuit of victory." Observe that *festinatio* here follows the active meaning, which *festino* and *propero* nearly always have in Tacitus. (Compare *Ann.*, xiii., 17 ; *Hist.*, iii., 25.)

Equitum turmæ fugere. We have given these words as they are found in all the early editions. Lipsius, imagining that the Roman cavalry were here meant, suspected the passage of being corrupt, and conjectured *equitum turmæ effudere et covinarii,* &c., or, rather, *equitum turmæ effusæ et covinarii,* &c. Ernesti prefers *erupere* to *fugere,* thinking, with Lipsius, that the Romans are referred to ; while Walch supposes that an entire sentence has been omitted, which he attempts to supply. All this correction, however, is perfectly unnecessary. By *equitum* Tacitus means the cavalry of the Britons, put to flight by the Romans, and the expression *turmæ,* which has misled so many commentators, may be applied to the British as well as to the Roman horse. Thus Tacitus elsewhere (*Ann.*, xiv., 34) writes, "*Britannorum copiæ passim per catervas et turmas exsultabant.*"

Covinarii peditum se prœlio miscuere. While the cavalry of the Britons, on their defeat by the Roman horse, fled from the scene of action, the charioteers, in like manner repulsed, retreated to their own infantry. By *peditum,* therefore, the British foot soldiers are meant, not, as some think, the Roman.—*Et quamquam recentem ter-*

rorem intulerant, &c. "And, although they had at first struck terror, were now, however, entangled among the crowded bands of the enemy, and the inequalities of the ground." Observe that by *hostium* are here meant the Britons themselves, not, as Walther and others suppose, the Romans. On retreating to their own infantry, the charioteers, who had occasioned some consternation by their first shock, now became of little, if any, service; for the crowded bands of their own countrymen, already thrown into confusion by the charge of the Batavians and Tungri, as well as the inequalities of the ground, since the Romans were now making their way up the acclivity, prevented them from using their chariots freely.—*Hostium.* Muretus and Gronovius conjecture *nostrorum*, and Ernesti *cohortium*, but without any necessity.

Minimeque equestris ea pugnæ facies erat, &c. "And the appearance thus presented was by no means that of an equestrian conflict, since, keeping their ground with difficulty for any length of time, they were both forced along by the very bodies of their horses, and oftentimes straggling chariots, and affrighted horses without drivers, just as fear had impelled each, rushed against those who crossed their path or met them in front." The true reading of this passage is extremely uncertain. The one which we have given is adopted by Brotier and others, and appears to give the best sense. When the charioteers had reached their own infantry, and were struggling with their vehicles in the midst of this disorderly throng, the confused appearance thus presented was very different, according to our author, from that which a battle with chariots or with cavalry usually presents; for, keeping their footing with difficulty on the declivity, they were every moment either impelled downward by the mere weight of the bodies of the horses, or dragged about by the affrighted steeds in utter disorder, and encountering friends and foes alike.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Vacui spernebant. "Were regarding with contempt, while thus disengaged." Observe that *vacui* gets its force here from *pugnæ expertes*, which precedes.—*Ni id ipsum veritus*, &c. "(And they would have accomplished their object), had not Agricola, having apprehended this very movement," &c. Compare note on "*Agitasse C. Cæsarem*," &c., chap. xiii.—*Ad subita belli retentas.* "Held in reserve for the sudden emergencies of battle."—*Accurrerant.* Dronke writes *accucurrerant.* The reduplicated form, however, oc-

curs only once in Tacitus, in *decucurrit* (*Ann.*, ii., 7).—*Transvectæque præcepto ducis*, &c. "And the squadrons having then, by order of the general, been moved across the field from the front of the battle," &c., *i. e.*, having been ordered to wheel from the front.

Tum vero patentibus locis, &c. Imitated from Sallust (*Jug.*, 101): "*Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus ; sequi, fugere ; occidi, capi*," &c. Observe the animated effect produced in both passages by the series of historical infinitives, and the absence of the connecting conjunction.—*Eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare.* "Slaughtered these same, as others came in their way." By *eosdem* are meant those who had been taken.—*Prout cuique ingenium erat.* "According as the disposition of each one prompted." Compare Sallust (*Jug.*, 93): "*Uti cujusque ingenium erat.*"—*Jam hostium . . . . . . virtusque.* There is an antithesis between *jam hostium . . . . offerre*, and *est . . . . virtusque.* To the former is subjoined, as its consequent, *passim . . . . humus ;* and to the latter, *postquam silvis . . . . circumveniebant.* Dahl and some other editors propose to alter the order of the clauses, but, by so doing, they disturb the natural order of the ideas.

Est aliquando etiam victis, &c. "Rage and valor were at times present even to the vanquished." Compare *Virg.*, *Æn.*, ii., 367: "*Quondam etiam victis redit in præcordia virtus.*" Observe, moreover, that *est* in this position is emphatic.—*Quodni frequens ubique Agricola*, &c. "And had not Agricola, being every where present, ordered some strong and lightly-equipped cohorts to encompass the ground after the manner of a hunting-circle, and, wherever there were thickets, a part of his cavalry to dismount and make their way through these, and, at the same time, another part on horseback to scour the more open woods, some disaster would have been encountered through excess of confidence." Observe the zeugma in *persultare*, by which the verb acquires three different significations in three successive clauses.—*Indaginis modo.* The term *indago* refers to that mode of hunting in which the hunters formed a complete circle round a large space of ground ; and, gradually contracting it, drove all the animals together into the centre, where they fell an easy prey to their darts. (Compare *Liv.*, vii., 37 ; *Flor.*, iv., 12, 48.)—*Sicubi arctiora erant.* Supply *loca.*

Compositos firmis ordinibus. "Arranged in complete order."—*Agminibus.* "In bands."—*Vitabundi invicem.* "Mutually avoiding each other."—*Satietas.* "Satiety of slaughter." Supply *cædendi.*—*Sexaginta.* Some editions have *quadraginta.* The change is very slight, XL for LX.—*Ferocia equi.* "The impetuosity of his steed." (Compare chap. ii., "*plus tamen ferociæ.*")

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Gaudio prædaque læta. "Rendered gladsome by the joy of success and by plunder."—*Per iram.* "In the rage of despair."—*Miscere invicem consilia aliqua*, &c. "Arranged some plans together, then deliberated by themselves," *i. e.*, sometimes they conferred together; and again, at other times, deliberated by themselves. With *separare* supply *alia*, i. e., *consilia.*—*Frangi aspectu pignorum suorum.* "Were broken down in spirit at the sight of their pledges of affection," *i. e.*, their wives and little ones.—*Sævisse in.* "Laid violent hands upon."

Secreti colles. "Deserted hills," *i. e.*, hills before crowded with human beings, now desolate and solitary. Ernesti's emendation of *deserti colles* is altogether unnecessary, and arose from his misunderstanding the force of *secreti*, and giving it the meaning of *remotiores.*—*Ubi incerta fugæ vestigia*, &c. "When it was ascertained that the tracks of flight were all uncertain," &c.—*Et, exacta jam æstate, spargi bellum nequibat.* "And (when), the summer being now ended, the war could not well be spread throughout the country."—*Horestorum.* Mannert (ii., p. 65) places the Horesti near the *Frith of Tay*, and condemns the opinion of those who make them to have been the inhabitants of what is now *Angus Shire.* This would have been too near the foe, who, though defeated, might still have annoyed Agricola's forces.

Circumvehi Britanniam. This was more for the sake of conquest than of discovery. Hence, the expression employed immediately after, *datæ ad id vires*, "A sufficient force was furnished him for that purpose."—*Ipsa transitus mora.* "By the very slowness of his march through them."—*Secunda tempestate ac fama.* "With favoring weather and fame," *i. e.*, both favored by prosperous gales, and bearing along with them the fame of the Roman arms.—*Trutulensem portum.* Where this was is not known. Brotier identifies it with the *portus Rutupinus*, or *Rutupensis*, the modern *Sandwich*; others with *Portsmouth* or *Plymouth.* But the words *unde . . . . . redierat* must mean *Quo redierat, inde lecto proximo omni Britanniæ latere*, "Unto which it had returned, after having set out from the same and coasted all the nearest shore of Britain;" and as *proximo latere omni* evidently means merely the eastern coast and part of the north and west coast, Mannert's opinion is probably the true one, that the harbor in question was near the *Frith of Tay*, and that the fleet only sailed along enough of the coast to prove that Britain was an island. (*Mannert*, ii., p. 67.)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Nulla verborum jactantia auctum. "Unadorned by any pomp of words." We have given *auctum*, the very happy emendation of Lipsius. The common text has *actum*, but we may be allowed to doubt the Latinity of such an expression as *rerum cursum epistolis agere* (*Walther, ad loc*).—*Inerat conscientia.* "He was conscious." *Inerat*, used absolutely in this way, is found elsewhere. Thus, "*Præcipua pedum pernicitas inerat.*" (*Liv.*, ix., 16.) Compare Sophocles, *Œd. T.*, 578 : Ἄρνησις οὐκ ἔνεστιν ὧν ἀνιστορεῖς.

Falsum e Germania triumphum. This refers to his first fictitious triumph over the Catti, in A.D. 84. The occasion was furnished, apparently, by the Cheruscan king, Charomer, who, by means of Roman influence and Roman money, having become too powerful for his hostile neighbors, was expelled by the Catti. Dio Cassius (lxvii., 4) says that he returned without even having seen an enemy ; still, however, the affair must have been attended with some success, since we learn from Frontinus (*Strateg.*, i., 3) that he constructed the frontier wall between the free Germans and those who were subject to Rome, so that he must, at any rate, have succeeded in confining the barbarians within their own territory.—*Emtis per commercia*, &c. He purchased a number of slaves, and attired them like Germans, having also caused their hair to be dyed in imitation of the ruddy locks of that nation, and then paraded these in triumph through the streets of Rome as so many real captives. Caligula had done the same thing before him. (*Suet.*, *Cal.*, 47.)

Id sibi maxime formidolosum. "He thought that this was most to be apprehended by himself." *Putabat* or *existimabat* must be supplied from *inerat conscientia.* Observe, moreover, that *formidolosus* is here passive. Thucydides (i., 36) uses ἀδεέστερον in the same way.—*Frustra studia fori*, &c. Domitian thought that it was of no use for him to have put an end to the study of eloquence and polite literature, and to have banished those who excelled in such pursuits (compare chap. ii.), if some one should obtain popularity by his success in war.—*Et cetera utcunque facilius*, &c. "That all other accomplishments, too, whether more or less easily, are capable of being concealed from view (by their possessor), that the talents of an able commander, (however), form an attribute of empire." More literally, "are imperial," *i. e.*, mark their possessor as a fit individual to attain unto empire. Ernesti incorrectly construes *utcunque* with *dissimulari*, and hence regards *facilius* as savoring of

a gloss. The true construction, however, is *utcunque facilius*, which Walch, whom we have followed, renders, "*wie misslich es auch sei, sei es leichter*." In earlier Latinity the clause would have run as follows: *et cetera, utcunque sit, facilius dissimulari.*

Quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, &c. "And, what was a sure indication of some malignant intent, having brooded over them for a long time in his wonted privacy." More literally, "having sated himself with his wonted privacy." The allusion is to that love of solitude which became the most confirmed of all the habits of Domitian, and in which he indulged either for the purpose of plotting mischief against others, or gratifying his own vicious propensities. (Compare *Suet.*, *Dom.*, 3; *Aur.*, *Vict. Cæs.*, 11; *Plin.*, *Paneg.*, 48; *Scaliger, ad Euseb.*, p. 202.)—*Impetus famæ.* "The first impulse of public opinion."—*Britanniam obtinebat.* "Held the command of Britain."

CHAPTER XL.

Triumphalia ornamenta. Since the year 735, after Agrippa's victory over the Cantabri, the honor of the triumph itself belonged to the emperor and to the imperial princes. Other generals were forced to be contented with the mere insignia of the triumph, the *bay chaplet*, the *toga prætexta*, the *trabea triumphalis*, *triumphal statue* (*illustris*), *curule chair*, *ivory sceptre*, &c. In the expression *quidquid pro triumpho datur* are included the public sacrifices and thanksgivings. (Compare *Dio Cass.*, liv., 11, 24.)—*Multo verborum honore cumulata.* "Loaded with much complimentary language," *i. e.*, together with a profusion of complimentary expressions.—*Addique insuper opinionem.* "And he causes, also, the expectation to be entertained."—*Majoribus.* "For persons of more than ordinary distinction." Observe that *majoribus* is here equivalent to *illustrioribus.* So *minores*, in *Ann.*, xvi., 8; *Hist.*, iv., 85. The province of Syria embraced a very large portion of the East, and formed one of the most important and opulent of foreign commands. (Compare *Herodian*, ii., 7, and *Bergier, in Græv. Thes.*, vol. x., p. 218, *seqq.*, § 3.)

Ex secretioribus ministeriis. "Of the number of those employed in confidential services." (Compare *Bötticher*: "*aus der vertrauteren Diener Zahl.*")—*Codicillos.* "Letters patent."—*Ut, si in Britannia foret*, &c. Agricola was immediately recalled; but the suspicious Domitian feared that he might maintain his post by force; and the sending of this confidential freedman with letters patent, conferring on him the government of Syria, was merely a device to draw him

away from Britain. If Agricola were already on his way to Rome, that would be unnecessary; and, accordingly, the freedman, meeting Agricola on his journey, returned to Rome without delivering the letters.—*In ipso freto oceani.* The Straits of *Dover.*—*Ex ingenio principis.* "In accordance with the character of the prince."

Tradiderat interim Agricola, &c. Dio Cassius (liii., 15) mentions an ordinance of Augustus, directing that, whenever a successor arrived, the previous governor should immediately resign his authority, and return home within three months after this. The successor of Agricola was probably Sallustius Lucullus, who, as Suetonius informs us, was put to death by Domitian for permitting certain lances of a new construction to be called *Lucullean.* (*Suet., Dom.,* 10.) The possession of the Highlands was lost after Agricola was recalled. (Compare *Hist.,* i., 2.)—*Ac, ne notabilis celebritate,* &c. "And lest his entrance into the city might be too conspicuous, through the rank and numbers of those going out to meet him." We must not, as some do, make *celebritate* and *frequentia* synonymous. The two terms are quite distinct, the former referring to rank, the latter to number. (Compare Bötticher: "*durch Glanz und Menge der Entgegenkommenden;*" and consult *Lex. Tac., s. v.*)—*Amicorum officio.* "The salutation of his friends." (Compare *Cic. pro Murœn.,* 33, and *Ernesti, Clav. Cic., s. v.* Officium.)

Exceptusque brevi osculo. "And having been received with a slight kiss." To salute with a kiss was an ordinary custom among the Romans, and the warmer the friendship the heartier the salutation. Under the emperors the custom still continued, and the prince was wont to receive with a kiss the more distinguished of those who sought an audience with him. This, however, soon became the *breve osculum,* or slight ceremonious salutation, amounting to a mere matter of form; and in some cases, even, it was not given. (Consult *Suet., Oth.,* 6; *Ner.,* 37; *Dom.,* 12; *Dio Cass.,* lix., 30; *Schwartz, ad Plin., Paneg.,* 24, 2, &c.)—*Turbæ servientium.* "With the servile throng," *i. e.,* of courtiers, &c.—*Ut militare nomen,* &c. "That he might soften down the glare of military reputation, oppressive to those who lead lives of inaction," &c. As *otium* is commonly used in opposition to *bellum,* so by *otiosi* here are properly meant the mere men of peace, if we may so express it, or, in other words, mere civilians.—*Tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit.* "He gave himself up entirely to tranquillity and ease." *Penitus* is here equivalent to *prorsus, omnino, valde.* (Compare *Cic., Off.,* ii., 18: "*Consuetudinem .... penitus amisimus.*")

Cultu modicus, &c. "Plain in his mode of life, affable in conver-

sation, accompanied (only) by one or two of his friends." Observe that *cultus* here has a general reference, and is not to be restricted to mere attire. (Compare the version of Walch: "*einfach in Lebensweise*;" and also that of Böttcher: "*machte wenig Aufwand.*")—*Comitatus.* Used passively, as in Cicero, *de Or.*, iii., 6: "*Eodem est instructu ornatuque comitata.*" (Consult *Voss.*, *de Anal.*, iii., p. 26.)

Per ambitionem. "By the appearance which they make in public." (Compare Brotier: "*Ex vitæ splendore et numeroso comitatu.*")—*Æstimare.* "To form an opinion of." (Consult note on *æstimaret*, chap. v.)—*Quærerent famam.* "Called in question his renown," *i. e.*, missed the splendor which they had looked for in one so renowned, and, therefore, began to doubt the very existence of that renown itself.—*Pauci interpretarentur.* "Few could interpret his conduct," *i. e.*, few understood his motives.

CHAPTER XLI.

Crebro per eos dies, &c. Among the enemies of Agricola may be mentioned M. Regulus, Veiento, and Publius Certus. Their accusations were made in secret, and hence *absens accusatus.* Domitian, however, felt himself the gross injustice of these charges, and, therefore, acquitted Agricola at once, without either notifying him of these accusations or calling upon him for any defence; and hence *absens absolutus est.* This explanation will show the true force of *absens* here, and how erroneous is the reading of Augustinus, mentioned by Ursinus, namely, *præsens absolutus est.* (*Ursin.*, *Fragm. Vet. Hist.*, p. 461.)—*Non crimen ullum*, &c. "No crime against the state, nor a complaint from any individual who had been injured by him," *i. e.*, no offence either public or private. (Compare Walch: "*kein Verbrechen, nicht Klagen eines Verletzten.*")—*Laudantes.* "Eulogists." Every word of praise bestowed upon Agricola would excite, of course, the jealousy of the tyrant.

Sileri. "To be passed over in silence."—*Tot exercitus*, &c. This refers to the war with the Daci, Marcomanni, and Quadi, in the years 86–91, which ended with Domitian's second mock-triumph. The Romans, however, were, in fact, defeated, and Domitian was obliged to conclude peace with Decebalus, king of the Daci, on very humiliating terms.—*Tot militares viri*, &c. "So many men of military character, together with so many cohorts, defeated and taken prisoners." (Compare *Lucret.*, iv., 1008: "*Reges expugnare*;" and *Liv.*, xxiii., 30: "*Obsessos fame expugnavit.*")—*De limite imperii.* This, in all probability, must be looked for in the line of Roman

forts still visible between *Peterwardein* and *Becs*, on the *Teis*. (Compare *Mannert*, iv., p. 170.)—*Ripa*. "The river's bank." There is no reference here to the Rhine. The right bank of the Danube is meant, as far as the Quadi and Marcomanni.

Funeribus et cladibus. "By losses of leaders and overthrows of armies." *Funeribus* refers to the *militares viri* mentioned previously, and *cladibus* to the forces under their charge. (*Dronke*, *ad loc.*) Compare the version of Bötticher: "*bedeutenderer Männer Tod und grosse Niederlagen*."—*Cum inertia et formidine reorum*. "With the indolence and pusillanimity of those who were now accused of (incapacity)," *i. e.*, by the voice of the people. *Reorum* is a conjectural reading; the MSS. have *eorum*. *Reus* is frequently used, not merely in a strictly legal sense in opposition to *accusator*, *petitor*, *actor*, but with a more extended meaning. (*Walch*, *ad loc.*)

Dum optimus quisque libertorum, &c. "While each best one of his freedmen, through affection and fidelity, the worst through malignity and envy, kept urging to the choice a prince prone of himself to follow the worst advisers." *Dum* is more usually followed by the present tense; but there is nothing in the conjunction itself which necessarily requires this, and the imperfect, as here, is sometimes found with it.

In ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur. The idea intended to be conveyed by these words is, that Agricola's virtues, which were maliciously magnified by his enemies, raised his reputation and glory; but that this very glory was the cause of his ruin.

CHAPTER XLII.

Quo proconsulatum Asiæ, &c. "In which he was to draw lots for the proconsulate of Asia and Africa." Observe that *et* has here, in fact, a disjunctive force, two distinct proconsulates being made the subject of lot, and the two senior consulars casting lots for the same. Some editors, therefore, have conjectured *aut* for *et*; but this is unnecessary, since both provinces were, in fact, equally drawn for. (*Mercer. ad Ann.*, iii., 32; *Ernesti*, *ad loc.*) If it was still the custom for the *legati Cæsarum* and proconsuls to wait five years before they again drew lots for the provinces (*Dio Cass.*, liii., 14), the period referred to in the text would be the year 89 or 90.—*Occiso Civica*. The reference is to Civica Cerialis, who, according to Suetonius (*Dom.*, 10), was put to death in his proconsulate of Asia, on the charge of meditating a revolt.—*Consilium*. "A lesson." —*Exemplum*. "A precedent." (Compare the remark of Brotier:

"*Occiso Civica, nec Agricolæ deerat consilium, ut invidiam principis timeret, nec Domitiano exemplum, ut virtutem innocentis opprimeret.*")

Cogitationum principis periti. "Acquainted with the secret inclinations of the prince," *i. e.*, his wish that Agricola should not accept the foreign government.—*Occultius.* "Somewhat distantly." —*In approbanda excusatione.* "In making good his excuse (to the emperor)," *i. e.*, his excuse for not accepting the proconsulate. (Compare, as regards the force of *approbanda*, the notes on chap. v.) —*Non jam obscuri.* This is a correction for *non tam obscuri*, and answers infinitely better to *primo occultius.* Besides, *ita*, not *tam*, would be required.

Paratus simulatione. So "*paratus peditatu*" (*Cic.*, *ad Att.*, ix., 13). —*In arrogantiam compositus.* "Having assumed a stately air."—*Agi sibi gratias passus est.* Obliging persons to return thanks for an injury was a refinement in tyranny frequently practiced by the worst of the Roman emperors. Thus, Seneca (*de Tranq. An.*, 14) informs us that Caligula was thanked by those whose children had been put to death, and whose property had been confiscated. (*Aiken, ad loc.*)—*Nec erubuit beneficii invidia.* "Nor blushed at the invidious nature of the favor," *i. e.*, nor did he blush that Agricola should receive as a favor so marked an injury. Observe that *invidia* is here, in fact, for *res invidiosa.*

Salarium. This was an allowance for the maintenance of the governor. The word is derived from *sal*, and means, properly, money given for purchasing salt. Compare Horace (*Sat.*, i., 5, 46): "*Parochi præbent ligna salemque quæ debent.*" It was first granted by Augustus, and amounted sometimes to two hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ, over forty thousand dollars. (Consult *Dio Cass.*, lii., 23; lxxviii., 22.)—*Ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse.* "Lest he might seem to have purchased what he had forbidden," *i. e.*, lest it might seem a bribe for what he had, in reality, extorted by his authority.

Proprium humani ingenii est. "It is a principle of human nature." As regards the sentiment expressed by the clause, compare Seneca (*de Ira*, ii., 33): "*Hoc habent pessimum animi magna fortuna insolentes, quos læserunt, et oderunt.*"—*Sciant, quibus moris est, illicita mirari*, &c. "Let those know whose custom it is to admire unlawful things," &c., *i. e.*, to admire every opposition to control. *Illicita* refers to the *contumacia* and *inanis libertatis jactatio*, frequently assumed by Stoics in those times; as, for example, when Helvidius Priscus openly celebrated the birth-day of Brutus and Cassius. (Consult *Dio Cass.*, lxvi., 12, 13, 15.)—*Eo laudis excedere, quo*, &c

"Attain unto the same degree of praise as that to which many, through abrupt and dangerous paths, but without any benefit to their country, have brilliantly attained by an ambitious death." Observe that *inclaruerunt* is equivalent here to *clarescentes pervenerunt.* By *abrupta* is meant what Tacitus elsewhere (*Ann.*, iv., 20) calls *abrupta contumacia*, opposed to *deforme obsequium.* The sense of the whole passage is this: "*Obsequium et modestia, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo gloriæ perveniunt, quo multi pervenire solent, per abruptam contumaciam mortem ambitiose quærentes, sed rempublicam nihil juvantes.*"

CHAPTER XLIII.

Finis vitæ, &c. The death of Agricola was, as his biographer plainly hints in what follows, either immediately caused or certainly hastened by the emissaries of Domitian, who could not bear the presence of a man pointed out by universal feeling as alone fit to meet the exigency of times in which the Roman arms had suffered repeated reverses in Germany and the countries north of the Danube. Dio Cassius (lxvi., 20) says expressly that he was killed by Domitian.—*Extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit.* The epigram of Antiphilus (*Anthol. Brunck*, ii., 180) is commonly supposed to refer to the celebrated Agricola.

α. Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τί πεφεύγατε; ποῦ τόσον ὕδωρ;
Τίς φλὸξ ἀενάους ἔσβεσεν ἀελίου;
β. Δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλαο τετρύμεθα, πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν
Ἦν ποτόν, ἡ κείνου διψὰς ἔχει σποδιή:

which Grotius translates:

Quo fontis latices, quo copia vestra recessit?
Perpetuas solis quis calor hausit aquas?
Agricolæ luctu consumimur; illius ante
Humida, nunc fiunt pulverulenta siti.

Et hic aliud agens populus. "And the class that busy themselves about other people's affairs." (Compare the explanation of Walch: "*Der geschäftlose, um fremde, ihm nichts angehende Dinge, sich kümmernde grosse Haufe.*") So Forcellini: "*Aliud agere et alias res agere est vel de quo agitur dissimulare, vel ad alias res animum advertere.*" The explanation given by Pichena is wrong, though approved of by Ernesti; namely, "*Publicas res nihil curans, sed suis negotiis intentus.*"—*Circulos.* "Private circles."

Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim. "For my own part, I can not venture to affirm that any thing has been found out by us for

certain." Supply *esse* after *nihil comperti*, and refer *nobis* to the family and friends of Agricola. The clause is very obscurely worded, so much so, indeed, as to lead to the suspicion that the text has been corrupted. Various emendations, therefore, have been suggested by different editors, but all more or less unsatisfactory. The best of these, however, is that of Peerlkamp: *Nobis nihil compertum* (scil. esse) *affirmare ausim.*

Crebrius quam ex more principatus, &c. "More frequently than accords with the custom of sovereigns, who pay visits merely by formal messages." Literally, "the custom of sovereignty, visiting by means of messages."—*Medicorum intimi.* "The most confidential of the physicians (of the palace)," *i. e.*, those who were deepest in the secrets and confidence of the prince.—*Sive cura illud*, &c. "Whether that were anxiety for his recovery, or a prying into the progress of his disorder."

Momenta deficientis. "The successive moments of the sinking man," *i. e.*, the different stages of the death-struggle. (Compare Bötticher: "*die Stadien des Todeskampfes.*")—*Per dispositos cursores.* It appears that Domitian was at this time at his Alban villa, or certainly absent somewhere from Rome. (*Rhenan.*, *ad loc.*)—*Sic accelerari quæ tristis audiret.* "That tidings which he could hear with sadness were thus accelerated," *i. e.*, that so much pains was taken to accelerate information which could prove other than acceptable.—*Animo vultuque.* "In feeling and in look," *i. e.*, he assumed a studied look of sorrow, as if it actually came from the heart. Hand, who makes this an instance of hendiadys, explains it by "*animo, qui in vultu apparet*" (*ad Tursell.*, ii., p. 477). Dronke, however, still more neatly, by "*vultum ita composuit quasi animo dolorem concepisset.*"

Quo cohæredem optimæ uxori, &c. This, of course, would be the best way of securing to his family a portion of his property. (Compare *Ann.*, xvi., 11: "*Nec defuere qui monerent, magna ex parte heredem Cæsarem nuncupare, atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere.*")—*Piissimæ.* "Most dutiful," *i. e.*, most devotedly affectionate.—*Lætatum eum velut honore judicioque.* "He was delighted therewith as if it had been an honorable testimony in his favor." *Honore judicioque* is, by hendiadys, for *judicio honorifico.*

CHAPTER XLIV.

Natus erat Agricola, &c. The early editions, down to the time of Ursinus and Lipsius, have *Caio Cæs. ter. cons.*, which these edi-

tors enlarged to *Caio Cæsare tertium cons.*, and from that period *tertium consule* has remained the common reading. But Caligula's third consulate was in the year 793; the consulate of Collega and Priscus in 846. According to this, therefore, Agricola would have died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, being fifty-three years, two months, and ten days old. To get over this difficulty, some suppose that Tacitus wrote LIV, and not LVI; others, that he wrote *primum* instead of *tertium.* The first consulate of Caligula was in 790, so that the latter supposition is the more likely of the two, and we have accordingly followed it in the text. If, then, we take 790 as the year of Agricola's birth, he would be fifty-six years, two months, and ten days old, and, accordingly, properly in his fifty-seventh year. But *sexto et quinquagesimo anno mortuus est* may mean that he died either before or after the completion of his fifty-sixth year. Suetonius (*Aug.*, 26) says of Augustus: "*Consulatum vicesimo ætatis anno invasit.*" This was when Augustus wanted thirty-six days of having completed his twentieth year. Livy (*Ep.*, 119), on the contrary, says "*Nonum decimum agens,*" of a youth who was above nineteen years and ten months old. Now Agricola was prætor under Nero, and, therefore, before June 9th, 821. According to Dio Cassius (lii., 20), he must have then completed his twenty-ninth year. Taking the extreme case, if he was prætor after August 23d, 820, he must have been born in 791. But this is impossible, as Caligula was not consul in that year; and, accordingly, we can only suppose that he was born in 790, and thus he would be quæstor after the completion of his twenty-fifth year, tribune after his twenty-seventh, prætor after his twenty-ninth, and consul after his thirty-ninth year.

Habitum ejus. "His personal appearance."—*Decentior quam sublimior fuit.* "He was rather well-made than tall." Observe that by *decor habitus* is meant the *συμμετρία τοῦ σώματος.* (*Boxhorn, ad loc.*)—*Nihil metus in vultu,* &c. "There was nothing in his countenance to inspire awe; a sweetness of expression was its prevalent characteristic." Literally, "abounded."—*Medio in spatio integræ ætatis ereptus.* According to Tacitus himself elsewhere (*Dial. de Or.*, 17), an *integra ætas,* or full and complete period of human life, was one hundred and twenty years: "*Centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis ætas.*"—*Quantum ad gloriam.* "Yet, as far as glory was concerned," *i. e.*, if his life be measured by the glory to which he attained.

Impleverat. "He had fully enjoyed." Equivalent, in effect, to *plene assecutus erat.* Compare the Greek usage in the case of *ἀναπλῆσαι* (*Hom.*, *Od.*, v., 208), and *ἀναπληρῶσαι* (*Lucian, Q. H. C. S.*

8.)—*Speciosæ contigerant.* "A handsome fortune had fallen to his lot." Dio Cassius (lxvi., 20) errs in saying that Agricola lived for the remainder of his life in dishonor and in want (ἔν τε ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ). This is contradicted by his not asking for the proconsular allowance (chap. xlii.), and by what Tacitus says in chap. vi.—*Futura effugisse.* "In having escaped from impending evils."

Nam sicuti durare in hac beatissimi sæculi luce, &c. "For, as he used, in our hearing, to divine from auguries, and to express the desire by many a wish, that he would still be continuing existence amid this radiance of a most blissful age, and would behold Trajan emperor, so, on the other hand, has it brought with it a great consolation, as regards his untimely death, that he thereby escaped that latter period when Domitian no longer now by intervals, and after allowing us time to breathe," &c. The common text has *quod augurio votisque,* &c. We have rejected *quod,* however, as suggested by Walch and others, and have given what appears to be the best explanation of this very difficult, and probably corrupt passage. The use of *durare* and *videre* for *se duraturum* and *visurum* may be defended from "*Ratusque dedecus amoliri*" (*Ann.*, xiv., 14): "*Nusquam eas* (pecunias) *tutius sanctiusque deponere credentibus*" (*Liv.*, xxiv., 18): "*An creditis æquo animo iis servire*" (*Curt.*, iv., 14, 23). Observe, moreover, the zeugma in *ominabatur,* and compare the explanation of Walch, "*et auguriis ominabatur et votis concupiscebat.*" The omens here alluded to, and which were said to have foretold the elevation of Trajan to the imperial throne, are spoken of by Dio Cassius (lxvii., 12) and Pliny (*Paneg.*, 5, 94). They occurred in the year 844, and Agricola died in 846.

CHAPTER XLV.

Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam. "Agricola did not live to see the senate-house besieged." (Consult *Suet.*, *Dom.*, 10, 11; *Plin.*, *Ep.*, iii., 11; vii., 19; *Dio Cass.*, lxvii., 12.)—*Tot consularium cædes.* Consult *Suet.*, *Dom.*, 10, 15.—*Feminarum exsilia et fugas.* As, for example, Annia, Fannia, Gratilla, Flavia Domitilla, and Pontia Domitilla. — *Carus Metius.* One of the most notorious informers under Domitian. He is mentioned by Pliny (*Ep.*, i., 5, 11; vii., 19, 27), Martial (xii., 25), and Juvenal (i., 36). According to the scholiast on Juvenal, he was an actor.—*Una adhuc victoria censebatur.* "Was rated as yet for only a single victory," *i. e.*, since as yet but one victim had fallen beneath his accusations, no one could at that time conceive the mischief which he was shortly about to bring upon

the nation, and hence his power to injure was as yet rated comparatively low.

Et intra Albanam arcem, &c. "And the counsels of Messalinus resounded (as yet) only through the Alban villa, and Massa Bæbius (himself) was even at that time among the accused." The *arx Albana* was Domitian's villa, which he built on the Via Appia, at the foot of the Alban Mount. Catullus Messalinus was an informer, concerning whom see *Juvenal*, iv., 113, *seqq.*, and *Dio Cassius*, lxvii., 1. The meaning of Tacitus is, that Messalinus had not yet ventured to become an open and public informer at Rome, but that his accusations were as yet secret ones, and confined to the privacy of the Alban villa. Massa Bebius, or Bæbius, was one of the most infamous informers of the latter end of the reign of Domitian. He is first mentioned in A.D. 70, as one of the procurators in Africa, when he betrayed Piso, and is described by Tacitus as "*jam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus.*" (*Hist.*, iv., 50.) He was afterward governor of the province of Baetica, which he oppressed so unmercifully that he was accused by the inhabitants on his return to Rome. The cause of the provincials was pleaded by Pliny the younger and Herennius Senecio, and Massa was condemned in the same year that Agricola died, A.D. 93; but he seems to have escaped punishment by the favor of Domitian, and from this time became one of the informers and great favorites of the tyrant.

Nostræ manus. "Our own hands," *i. e.*, the hands of one of our own body, *i. e.*, a senator. As Publicius Certus, a member of the senate, had seized upon Helvidius and led him to prison, Tacitus imputes the crime to the whole senatorian order, himself included. Tacitus took his seat in the senate as a man of prætorian rank, after 841, and he uses the expression *nostræ manus*, therefore, although absent from Rome at the time when the arrest in question took place. Compare, as regards the affair here alluded to, the language of the younger Pliny (*Ep.*, ix., 13): "*Inter multa scelera multorum nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod in senatu senator senatori, prætorius consulari, reo judex, manus intulisset.*"—*Helvidium.* This refers to Helvidius the younger, and not to Helvidius Priscus, who was banished and put to death in exile under the Emperor Vespasian. Helvidius the younger was accused under pretence "*quasi scenico exodio, sub persona Paridis et Œnones, divortium Domitiani cum uxore taxasset.*" (*Suet.*, *Dom.*, 10.)

Nos Maurici Rusticique visus, &c. "The spectacle of Mauricus and Rusticus struck us with horror, Senecio bedewed us with his innocent blood." This sentence affords a peculiar instance of the

figure zeugma, where *perfudit*, as understood in the first clause, becomes equivalent to *honore perculit*. Mauricus and Arulenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by the virtues of their private character. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricus ordered into banishment. (Compare *Hist.*, iv., 40; *Ann.*, xvi., 26.)—*Senecio.* Consult notes on chapter ii.

Videre et adspici. "To behold (him), and to be observed (by him)." The peculiar meaning of *adspici* here, by which it rises in strength above *videre*, is worthy of notice. The reference is to the searching and suspicious look of the tyrant, and his watching the expression of every countenance to detect some ground of accusation. (Compare the explanation of Dronke: "*ihn zu sehen, und von ihm beobachtet zu werden.*")—*Subscriberentur.* "Were made subjects of accusation against us." Others take the word to mean, simply, "were secretly noted down;" but this wants force in the present instance, however well it might answer in other passages. The evil complained of here was encouraged under Tiberius (*Ann.*, iv., 30), Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; repressed under Vespasian and Titus (*Hist.*, iv., 44), but reached its height under Domitian.

Sufficeret sævus ille vultus et rubor. "That stern countenance, with its settled redness, never tired." Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red that nothing could add to his natural color, and he was, therefore, said by Pliny to be a man of unblushing impudence, "*in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa.*" (*Paneg.*, 48).—*Quo . . . muniebat.* The old reading was *a quo*. This might, perhaps, mean *a quo auxilium petens se muniebat.*

Opportunitate mortis. "In the seasonableness of thy death." (Compare the language of Cicero, in speaking of the orator Crassus: "*Ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitæ flore, tum mortis opportunitate, divino consilio et ortum et exstinctum arbitror.*")—*Constans et libens.* "With firmness and cheerfulness."—*Tamquam pro virili portione*, &c. "As if, so far as lay in thy power, thou wast bestowing innocence upon thy sovereign," *i. e.*, as if, so far as lay in thy power, thou didst wish, by thy calmness and serenity, to show that Domitian was guiltless of thy death.

Filiæque. Tacitus's wife. This is a correction for *filioque*. Agricola's sons were both dead.—*Assidere valetudini.* "To sit by thy sick-bed." Literally, "by thy sickness."—*Nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione*, &c. "To us wast thou lost four years before, by the circumstance of so long an absence." Observe that *ante quadriennium*

is for *quadriennio ante.* So ' *multos ante annos,*" for *multis annis ante* (*Ann.*, xiv., 9). It appears that Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome, on what account we are nowhere informed. Some critics suppose that he was banished by Domitian, but this seems to be without any foundation. The fact of his absence may be gathered, also, from Pliny (*Ep.*, vii., 33); for the request which he makes, that Pliny would furnish him with a detailed account of Senecio's suit against Bebius, was occasioned by his being away at the time from the capital. He was present, however, at Senecio's death, in the year 846, when he returned from the administration of his prætorian province.

Omnia sine dubio, &c. "Every mark of attention, beyond a doubt, O best of parents, was abundantly rendered unto thee, their honored object." Literally, "all things, &c., abounded for thy honor," *i. e.*, for honoring thee, and making thy last moments comfortable.—*Compositus est.* "Thou wast laid at rest," *i. e.*, thy ashes were gathered into their last resting-place, the funeral urn. The verb *componere*, like the Greek *περιστέλλειν*, is especially used in this sense. Compare *Orelli* (*ad Hor.*, *Sat.*, i., 9, 28): "*Composui, ut περιστέλλειν,* 'beisetzen,' *de sepultura, imprimis de cineribus collectis atque in urna conditis.*"—*Aliquid.* The reference is to his daughter and Tacitus.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Si quis piorum manibus locus. "If there be any abiding-place for the shades of the virtuous." The religious opinions of Tacitus partook of the character of his age: he had no strong convictions, no settled belief of a moral government of the world; his love of virtue and his abhorrence of vice were purely moral; they had no reference to a future existence. (Compare *Ann.*, iii., 18; vi., 22.) On the present occasion, in this, one of his earliest productions, he hopes, rather than expects, that the souls of the departed may still live and be conscious of what is passing on earth; but in his latest writings there are no traces that his hopes or his wishes had ever ripened into a belief.

Ab infirmo desiderio. "From weak regret."—*Et immortalibus laudibus,* &c. The text here is very uncertain. We have given the reading of the best editions, which is adopted also by Bekker. The common text has *temporalibus laudibus . . . . militum decoramus.* (Consult *Walther, ad loc.*)—*Æmulatu.* "By an imitation of thy example."—*Pietas.* "The affectionate duty."—*Famamque ac figuram animi,* &c. "And ever embrace in thought the glorious features of

his mind rather than those of his person." Observe the hendiadys in *famam ac figuram*. Some editors prefer *formam ac figuram*, which is justly condemned by Walch as not in accordance with the historical style of Tacitus: "*Nirgend stehen, in Tacitus's historischen Schriften, Dehnungen wie*, Gestalt und Bild der Seele."

Non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus. "Not because I think that we should reject those resemblances (of the departed)." Literally, "not because I think that we must put our veto upon those resemblances." The verb *intercedo*, here employed in its figurative sense, refers properly to the interposing of a veto on the part of a magistrate who has the right so to do. (Consult *Dict. Ant.*, *s. v.* Intercessio.)

Non per alienam materiam et artem. "Not by means of any foreign material and through another's skill," *i. e.*, through the artist's skill. —*Manet mansurumque est.* "Remains, and is destined to remain, in the hearts of men, in the eternal lapse of ages, in the fame of his achievements." Observe that *fama rerum* is only another designation for history.

INDEX OF PLACES IN TACITUS,

WHICH ARE QUOTED OR REFERRED TO IN BÖTTICHER'S REMARKS ON HIS STYLE.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

TO

THE GERMANIA.

A.

Abnŏba Mons. A name given to that part of the Black Forest where the Danube commences its course, and which lies opposite the town of Augusta Rauracorum, now *Augst*. A stone altar, with ABNOBA inscribed, was discovered in the Black Forest in 1778; and in 1784 a pedestal of white marble was found in the Duchy of *Baden*, bearing the words DIANAE ABNOBAE. These remains of antiquity, besides throwing light on the situation of the ancient *Abnoba Mons*, settle also the orthography of the name, which some commentators incorrectly write *Arnoba*. (Compare *La Germanie de Tacite, par Panckoucke*, p. 4, and the Atlas to the same work, *Planche Deuxieme*) . . . . c. 1

Æstўi. A nation of ancient Germany, whose name still remains in that of the *Esthen*. They inhabited *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and *Courland*. Some think that the name merely means "the people of the East" . . . . c. 45

Albis. The River *Elbe*, which, according to Tacitus, rose among the Hermunduri. This was the easternmost stream in Germany with which the Romans became acquainted in the course of their expeditions; and they knew it, moreover, only in the northern part of its course. The only Roman who passed this stream with an army was L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A.U.C. 744, and though he made no further progress, yet the passage of the Albis obtained for him the insignia of a triumph. The name is said to be derived from the old northern term *elf* or *elfa*, which, in the early German, became *Alba* or *Elba*, and means "a river." Thus Becker remarks (*Organism. der Sprache*, p. 96), "*der nordische Gemeinname* elfa (*Fluss*) *ist in dem deutschen* Elbe *Eigenname geworden*." (Compare *Meidinger*, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, p. 533; *Ersch und Gruber*, *Encyclop.*, ii., p. 328; and *Graff*, *ahd. Sprachschatz*, i., p. 243) . . . . c. 41

Alpes ræticæ. The Rætian Alps, that portion of the chain

which separated Italy from Rætia, and which extended from the *St. Gothard*, whose numerous peaks bore the name of Adūla, to Mount *Bremner*, in the *Tyrol*. The Lepontine Alps, which commence immediately west of the Rætian, form in one sense a part of them, so that Adūla, in fact, belongs to both . . . . . . c. 1

Angli. A German tribe, the earliest record of whom we find in Tacitus (*Germ.*, c. 40). But this author only mentions their name, states a few particulars relative to their religion, and intimates that they were a branch of the Suevi. He appears to have known very little about them. They are not mentioned in the expeditions of Drusus and Tiberius, and, therefore, probably, were at that time on the east of the Elbe. Ptolemy places them on the west, in what is now *Magdeburg*. D'Anville has in his map assigned to them the same district which they occupied in the fifth century, before their emigration to England, and parts of which the modern Angles still occupy. He allots to them the greatest portion of modern *Schleswig*, and some part of *Holstein*, making the German Ocean their western boundary, the Saxons their nearest neighbors on the south, the Varini on the southeast, and the Jutes on the north. It is impossible to fix with accuracy any boundaries for the Angli from the account given by Tacitus; but his statement appears perfectly reconcilable with D'Anville's map and the Saxon Chronicle. About the middle of the fifth century (449) a large body of Saxons and Angles, led by Hengist and Horsa, sailed over to England, and established permanent settlements in the island. The Angles, however, seem to have prevailed in numbers or influence, for it was they that gave the name to their new country, *Angel-land*, *Anglia* (*England*), though it was sometimes called *Saxonia Transmarina*. The name Anglo-Saxons, which comprises both Angles and Saxons, was invented by later historians for the sake of convenience. (*Penny Cyclop.*, vol. ii., p. 24; xx., p. 492.—*Mannert*, vol. iii., p. 294) . . . c. 40

Angrivarĭi. A German tribe dwelling on the east of the Visurgis, or *Weser*, between the Cauci and Cherusci, and extending over a part of *Lüneberg* and *Calenberg* to the *Steinhuder See*, which formed the boundary between them and the Cherusci, and on both sides of the River *Aller*. The *Leine* seems to have formed their southeastern boundary. On the northeast they reached to the neighborhood of the Elbe. It appears that they dwelt, also, on the west of the Visurgis (*Ann.*, ii., 8). Traces of their name are still found near the Elbe, in *Angern*, *Engern*, *Engershausen*, *Angermünde*, &c. (Compare *Mannert*, vol. iii., p. 278, *seqq.*) . . . . c. 33, 34

Aravisci. A German tribe, placed by some between the Arabo

Batavorum, now *Leyden*. The chief towns of the Batavi were Batavodūrum, afterward called Noviomăgus, now *Nymegen* or *Nimuegen;* Arenăcum, now *Arnheim;* and Trajectum, now *Utrecht*. The name Batavi is preserved in that of *Betuwe*, the name of the district included between the Rhine of Leyden, the Waal, and the Lek. After the death of Galba, when the army on the Rhine followed Vitellius to Rome, Claudius Civilis roused the Batavi to a revolt, which was shortly afterward suppressed. They were employed by Agricola in his wars in Britain (*Agric.*, 36). The changes which have taken place in the land in this quarter render the geography somewhat difficult. In the time of Tacitus, most of the *Zuyder Zee* was dry land. The rivers, especially the Rhine, have very much altered their courses . . . . c. 29

Boii. The settlements of the once powerful Boii are found in Gaul, and along both sides of the Danube from its source eastward, probably as far as the mouth of the *Enns;* toward the south, stretching to the mountains which separate *Tyrol* from *Bavaria*. The eastern part of *Swabia*, with the whole of *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, which took their names from them (Bavaria having been originally *Boiaria*), belonged to them. They also occupied part of *Moravia*, and had settlements on the banks of the Po. Whether Gaul or Germany was their original country is uncertain: if the former, it would seem that they accompanied the first Gallic migration mentioned by Livy and others, and followed Segovesus into Germany, settling in Bohemia; but the facts that, for the most part, the tide of migration set in westward, and that Bohemia has retained its name to this day, seem to point to Germany as their original home. From Bohemia they were expelled by the Marcomanni, and settled in Noricum and Bavaria, where Boiodurum (*Innstadt*) took its name from them. At some period or other, but when is uncertain, they crossed the Alps, and established themselves in Italy, between the Tarus, the Silarus, and the Apennines. They were subdued by the Romans under Scipio Nasica, and afterward removed to the banks of the *Drave*. After this they were almost subdued in wars with the Getæ, and an extensive tract in this part was called *Deserta Boiorum* (*Plin.*, iii., 24). Some of the Boii accompanied Brennus in his invasion of Greece, and joined that part of his army which passed into Asia Minor, and settled in the country called from them Galatia, where one of the three divisions of the people bore the name Tolistoboii. Some of the Boii also joined the Helvetii when they migrated into Gaul, and were allowed by Cæsar to settle among the Ædui. (See *Plin.*, iii., 20, 21; iv., 32. *Polyb.*, i., 17; ii., 20.)

Boiēmum, or *Boihemum*, probably means, "the home of the Boii" (heim, heimath). Some, however, suppose that by *Boiëmum* is meant what Cæsar calls *oppidum Boiorum* (*B. G.*, vii., 9) in Gallia, now *Beaujolois* . . . . c. 28, 42

Bructĕri. (Called Βρυσάκτεροι by Ptolemy.) A German tribe, who, in all their wars with the Romans, never changed their seats. Toward the west, they reached to the *Vech*; toward the south, to the *Lippe*; toward the east, almost to the *Weser*; and toward the north, they bordered on the Frisii and Cauci. Along the Lippe, their territories extended probably from *Lippstadt* to *Haltern* (*Strabo*, vii., p. 291); and that they reached eastward at least as far as Lippstadt, we gather from Tacitus. (*Ann.*, i., 60.) For some time, while the Romans were superior in this quarter, they seem to have retired from the Lippe; but they afterward returned. The Bructeri were divided into the *Bructeri Majores*, who dwelt on the east, and the *Bructeri Minores*, who dwelt on the west of the Amisia, or *Ems*. They remained in their old settlements till the Cherusci, under the common name of Franks, united all the tribes of this part into one league, and henceforth we find them on the banks of the Rhine. Toward the end of the first century, they were subdued by the Chamavi and Angrivarii, and, according to Tacitus, extirpated. But in this he is most probably mistaken; for we find the Roman commander, Spurinna, engaged with them in the reign of Trajan; and in later times they appear as a powerful people among the Franks. Their name was finally lost when they were overpowered by the Saxons. It appears for the last time in a letter of Pope Gregory III., about the year 720, where they are called *Borthari*. Their principal towns were Osnabruga, Μεδιολάνιον (*Meteln*), Βογάδιον (*Bocholt*), and Στερεόντιον (*Steinfurt*). (*Eumenii Paneg. Const. dict.*, c. 12, 13; *Nazarii Paneg.*, c. 18; *Greg. Turon.*, ii., c. 9; *Bed.*, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv., 11; *Othlon.*, i., c. 37; as quoted by *Mannert*, vol. iii., p. 160, *seqq.*) . . . . c. 33

Būri. A German tribe living near the sources of the Viadrus (*Oder*) and Vistula, and extending as far as *Briga* and *Cracow*, or near to *Troppau*, in *Silesia*. In conjunction, first with the Daci, and afterward with the Marcomanni, they waged war with Trajan, M. Aurelius, and Commodus. (*Dio Cass.*, lxviii., 8; *Id.*, lxxi., 18; *Id.*, lxxii., 2, 3) . . . . c. 43

C.

Catti. A German tribe, separated from the Cherusci by the Forest of Bacenis (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 10). It is doubtful wheth-

er by this is meant the *Harz Mountains*, or the west part of the *Thüringer Wald.* The latter is the more probable. In the Middle Ages, the forest extending from Fulda to the Thüringer Wald bore the name of Buchonia. The Sala Franconiæ, with the *Spessart* and *Rhön Gebirge*, formed the boundary between them and the Hermunduri (*Annal.*, xiii., 57). On the east their territories were bounded by the *Werra.* On the south they reached to the *Mayn* and the Hercynian Forest. After they took possession of the district abandoned by the Ubii when they crossed the Rhine, their territory extended to that river, between the *Lahn* and the *Mayn.* On the north they bordered on a branch of the Cauci, so that the *Weser* formed their boundary in this direction. On the west the Tencteri were their neighbors; so that in this quarter they reached to the Mount Abnoba of Ptolemy (see c. 28). Thus their territory comprehended that of the modern *Hessians*, *Fulda*, the earldoms of *Hanau* and *Isenburg*, so much of *Franconia* as lies north of the *Mayn* to the mouth of the *Saale*, part of *Nassau*, and the eastern portion of the *Duchy of Westphalia.* Their principal towns were Νοναίσιον (*Nienhus*), in *Westphalia;* Μηλόκανος (*Melschede*); and Τραϊονάριον (*Grevener*). Their name is the same as that of the Hessians: *c* in Latin becomes *h* in German; as in *caput*, haupt; *canis*, hund; *cannabis*, hanf, &c.: *s* and *t* are freely interchangeable; as in *das*, that; *es*, it; *wasser*, water, &c. The Catti were defeated by Drusus; but some time afterward they destroyed Varus and his legions. In the reign of Tiberius, Germanicus overran the country; but they continued in arms against the Romans for many years after, and aided the revolt of the Batavi in the reign of Vitellius (*Ann.*, i., 55, 56; ii., 7, 25. *Hist.*, iv., 37). They were also engaged in war with the Hermunduri, by whom they were nearly extirpated (*Ann.*, xiii., 57), and with the Cherusci (*G.* 36). (Compare *Mannert*, vol. iii., p. 183, *seqq.*) . . . . c. 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38

Cauci. A German tribe, who dwelt along the ocean from the Amisia (*Ems*) to the Albis (*Elbe*), and reached southward somewhat below what is now *Ostfriesland*, *Oldenburg*, and *Bremen*, although along the *Weser* these boundaries often changed. Pliny and Ptolemy divide them into the greater and the less: though Tacitus does not make this distinction here, he alludes to it in his Annals (xi., 19); and we gather from him that the *Cauci majores* dwelt between the Amisia and the Visurgis; accordingly, the *Cauci minores* must be looked for between the Visurgis and the Albis. Ptolemy assigns them rather narrower limits; as in his time the western Cauci were more confined than in the age of Tacitus. The Cauci

were friends of the Romans in the expedition of Drusus, and still more so in that of Tiberius (*Ann.*, i , 60 ; ii., 17). Even after the disaster of Varus, they continued their friendship, and Germanicus made all his expeditions against the Cherusci from this side. But here, again, the Romans roused the enmity of their allies, by pursuing the same policy as in the case of the Frisii. Under Gannascus, they crossed the Rhine, and made incursions on the Roman province of Germania Inferior (*Ann.*, xi., 18) ; but were repulsed by Corbulo. They afterward aided Civilis in the Batavian war (*Hist.*, iv., 79 ; v , 19). Even after the expulsion of the Romans, they continued the enemies of the Cherusci, and felt themselves powerful enough to drive this people from the west bank of the Weser, while they ejected the Ansibarii (*Ann.*, xiii., 55), and perhaps some more southerly branches of the Cherusci, from their possessions along the Weser ; and it is only after this that the remark of Tacitus applies to them, that the southern angle of their territory bordered on one side on the Cherusci, and on the other on the Catti. But the Langobardi, pressing westward to the Rhine, established themselves in all the lands which had belonged to the Cherusci and their allies ; and in the time of Ptolemy the Cauci were reduced within their original boundaries. Ptolemy (ii., 11) mentions, as their towns, Φαβίρανον (*Brema*, or *Varel*), Λεύφανα (*Lüneburg*, *Lauenburg*, *Buxtehuda*, or *Lübbethene*), Τεκέλια (*Oldenbrook*, *Elsfleth*, or *Zetel*), Τουλίφουρδον (*Verda*, or *Döhlbergen*), Σιατουτάνδα (*Utende*), Τευδέριον (*Detern*). Their name is still preserved in that of their harbor, *Cuxhaven*. (Compare *Mannert*, iii., p. 275, *seqq.*) . . . c. 35, 36

Chamāvi. A German tribe, who originally occupied the tract which extended northward to the *Vech*, eastward to the *Ems*, southward to the *Lippe*, and westward to the eastern mouth of the Rhine. At a later period they lived between the *Weser* and the *Harz Mountains*, in *Eichfeld*, and a part of *Grubenhagen* and *Hohenstein*. In the third century they are again found on the Rhine, as members of the Frank league ; and in the next century they spread themselves along the *Waal*. Tacitus has most probably committed a mistake in placing them in the country of the Bructeri. (Compare *Mannert*, iii., p. 151) . . . . c. 33, 34

Chasuāri. A German tribe, whose settlements are placed by Ptolemy on the western side of the *Weser*, between the *Haase* and the sources of the *Lippe*, in *Osnaburg* and *Paderborn*. They were a tribe of the Cherusci ; and afterward appear among the Franks, on the western part of the Lower Rhine, in the dukedom of *Gelders*. They were conquered by Tiberius and Germanicus. (*Vell. Paterc.*, ii , 118 ; *Mannert*, iii., p. 179) . . . . . . c. 34

Cherusci. The German tribe of the Cherusci must be carefully distinguished from the league of the Cherusci. As a tribe, their possessions lay in the *Harz Mountains*, and on both sides of them, but chiefly on the south, where the northwest part of the *Thüringer Wald* separated them from the Catti. The Sala (*Saale*) probably formed their eastern boundary; so that their territory comprehended the *Duchies of Brunswick* and *Magdeburg*, with the *Principalities of Halberstadt*, *Schwarzburg*, *Grubenhagen*, and *Calenberg*. The name *Harz* is derived by some from that of Cherusci: in the Peutingerian Table they are called Crherstini. (See *Ptol.*, ii., 11; *Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 10; *Strabo*, vii., 1, 3, 4.) Ptolemy places them only on the south side of the Harz Mountains; but the expeditions of Germanicus show that they dwelt on the north side also. A wall built between the *Steinhuder See* and the *Weser* separated them from the Angrivarii (*Ann.*, ii., 19). The *Aller* probably formed their boundary on the north and east, up to the point where it meets the *Leine*. They were at first in alliance with Rome; and Arminius commanded a squadron of German cavalry in the Roman army, and so far distinguished himself that he was made a Roman knight. Afterward, roused by this leader, the Cherusci joined the Catti and others in the attack upon Varus; for a history of which, see *Ann.*, i., 59–63; ii., 9–26. They were afterward defeated by Germanicus (*Ann.*, ii., 17). Their strength, however, was not much broken; for the following year they defeated the Marcomanni under Maroboduus, and were now, through the courage and conduct of Arminius, the first people in Germany. The Cheruscan league included the Dulgibini, Ansibarii, Chasuari, Chamavi, Tubantes, and Marsi. These and other small tribes are frequently called Cherusci. Thus the land between the sources of the *Lippe* and the *Weser*, in all the accounts of the transactions before the defeat of Varus, is called the land of the Cherusci. But the power and influence which Arminius had acquired roused the jealousy of other princes, and he was murdered by some of his own family. With him fell the greatness of the Cherusci. Internal dissensions ruined the whole family of their ancient princes. In the reign of Claudius they sent to Rome to ask, as king, Italicus, a descendant of the family of Arminius, who was born at Rome. Being, however, looked upon as an alien, he was driven out, but was reinstated by the Langobardi (*Ann.*, xi., 16, 17). Their league was speedily dissolved; feuds arose between them and the neighboring tribes, and a considerable portion of their territory was wrested from them by the Langobardi, and they were driven from the west of the *Thüringer Wald* by the Catti. Ptolemy mentions,

as towns belonging to them, Μοιούϊον, Λοῦπτα, Ἀργέλια, Βικούρδιον, &c.; the sites of which can not be determined with any accuracy. (Compare *Mannert*, iii., p. 205, *seqq.*) . . . . . c. 36

CIMBRI. The accounts of the ancients respecting the seats of the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, abound in uncertainties and contradictions. Strabo places them on the ocean, by the Elbe; Mela, in the islands of the Baltic; Pliny, to the east of the Elbe, and on the peninsula which took its name from them; Tacitus places them in the same quarter; Ptolemy, at the extremity of the Cimbric Chersonese. But, upon examination, it does not appear that they ever inhabited these parts. The Greeks first became acquainted with them on the northern coast of the Pontus Euxinus. They were driven from this quarter, and disappeared from the knowledge of the Greeks, who fabled that they dwelt on the shores of the Northern Ocean, in a land shrouded in perpetual night. Pytheas, who circumnavigated the greater part of the northwest of Europe, saw a large peninsula, where the long nights and intense cold in winter seemed to accord with the poetical descriptions of the land of the Cimmerii, and so assigned this country as their abode. In this he was followed by most of the ancient geographers: Strabo sets them down as one of the tribes with which they were best acquainted; although in the next sentence he acknowledges that all beyond the Elbe was totally unknown to the Greeks (vii., p. 451, *Ed. Cas.*, 294). No mention is made of the Cimbri in the expeditions of Drusus and Germanicus; and though the fleet of the latter discovered the Cimbric Chersonese of Pytheas, they found no Cimbrians dwelling in it, nor did it bear a name derived from that people. Ptolemy places them at the extremity of it, merely to fill up a gap, as he has no other tribe to fix in this locality. Their real country lay, probably, on the northeast side of Germany: it was on this side that they invaded Germany, and were opposed by the Boii, at that time the inhabitants of Bohemia. *Βοΐους τὸν Ἑρκύνιον δρυμὸν οἰκεῖν. Τοὺς δὲ Κίμβρους ὁρμήσαντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀποκρουσθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βοΐων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, κ. τ. λ.* (*Strabo*, vii., p. 293, edit. Casaub.) Together with the Teutones they entered Gaul, where they were joined by the Ambrones. With their combined forces they then invaded Spain, but were repulsed by the Celtiberi. The Teutones and Ambrones then made an irruption into Italy, where they were defeated by Marius (B.C. 102). A part of the Cimbri, who had gone into Helvetia, were there joined by the Tigurini; these made another attack upon Italy, and defeated Catulus; but were at last routed by Marius (B.C. 101). The remnant of them is said to have settled in Helvetia

Some of the Boii appear to have accompanied them in their invasion of Italy. Their name is still preserved in the national appellation of the Welsh, *Cymry*. It is very difficult to decide whether the Cimbri were a Germanic or a Celtic tribe. The two races were not carefully distinguished by the Romans: Tacitus called them Germans; but the Cymry certainly are not descendants of the Germans: their language is a Celtic dialect. In the war with Marius they were led by a Celtic commander, and the description of their arms points to the same origin. Yet we find them united with the Teutones. There is a similar difficulty in the case of the Belgæ. For an account of the Cimbri and their expeditions, see *Liv.*, *Ep.*, 63–68. *Appian*, *De Rebus Celt. et Ill.* . . . . . . c. 37

D.

Daci. A tribe living between the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, about the Rivers Tibiscus and Marisus (*Teis* and *Marosch*), in the upper part of *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, and *Bessarabia*. The first expedition of the Emperor Trajan was against the Daci, headed by their king, Decebalus; and the war, which lasted nearly five years, ended in their submission, A.D. 105 (*Dio Cass.*, lxviii., 6, *sqq.*), to the Roman power. One of their chief towns, Sarmizegethusa, was afterward called Ulpia Trajani, in memory of the victory which was gained. In A.D. 250, Dacia was overrun and conquered by the Goths, to whom it was afterward resigned by the Emperor Aurelian. Domitian celebrated his pretended exploits against the Dacians by assuming the title Dacicus (*Juv.*, *Sat.*, vi., 204) . . . . c. 1

Danubĭus. The largest river in Europe except the Rha, or *Volga*, called by the Germans *Donau*, by the Hungarians *Duna*, and by the English *Danube*. Strabo and Pliny make it rise in the chain of Mons Abnoba, a part of the *Black Forest*. According to modern accounts, it originates on the eastern declivity of the Black Forest, about twenty-four miles from the banks of the Rhine. Its course is calculated to be about one thousand seven hundred and seventy miles before it enters the Black Sea, and it receives sixty navigable rivers, the largest of which is the Œnus, or *Inn*, and one hundred and twenty smaller streams. As regards the etymology of the name, it may be remarked, that Bayer (*Commt. Acad. Petrop.*, vol. ix., p. 375) supposes an early people to have existed, in whose language a word like *Tan*, *Ton*, *Don*, or *Dunai* may have signified "water," from which were gradually derived such names of rivers as Tanais, Danaperis, Danaster, Danubius, Don, Eridan-us, Rhodan-

E.

F.

and conquest of Britain. They were first humbled by Pipin the elder, who defeated their king, Radbod, and subdued the western part of their country as far as the eastern mouth of the Rhine. His successor, Poppo, attempted to recover it, but was repulsed by Charles Martel. Charlemagne added the eastern part of their kingdom to his other Saxon conquests. They gained possession of the Batavian island in the time of the Emperor Julian. They were anciently governed by two princes. Their descendants, who still retain their name, inhabit the small islands on the western coast of Schleswig. (*Ptol.*, ii., 11. *Ann.*, ii., 24; iv., 72, 73; xi., 18–20; xiii., 54. *Plin.*, iv., 15, 29, 31) . . . . . c. 34, 35

G.

GAMBRIVĬI. One of the early appellations of the Germanic race, according to some authorities referred to by Tacitus (*Germ.*, c. 2). Various etymologies have been assigned for the name, but all equally unsatisfactory. Wachter deduces it from *gam* ("a man") and *brig* ("a bridge"); Longolius, from *gam*, and *bruch* ("a marshy spot") . . . . c. 2

GERMĀNI. The Germans, the inhabitants of Germania. This word Germania was employed by the Romans to designate a country of much greater extent than modern Germany. They included under this name all the nations of Europe east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, bounded on the north by the German Ocean and the Baltic, including Denmark and the neighboring islands, and on the east by the Sarmatians and Dacians. It is difficult, however, to ascertain how far Germany stretched to the east. According to Strabo, Germanic tribes dwelt nearly as far as the mouths of the Borysthenes (*Dnieper*). Sometimes Germany proper was called *Germania Transrhenana*, to distinguish it from the tract lying between the Rhine and Scheldt, which was called *Germania Cisrhenana*, after it had been inhabited by some German tribes, which had crossed the Rhine, or had been brought over by Agrippa and Tiberius. The latter was also divided into *Germania Superior*, or *Prima*, extending along the Rhine from Bingium, beyond Argentoratum; and *Germania Inferior*, or *Secunda*, reaching from Bingium to the sea. (*Plin.*, iv., 17; *Dio Cass.*, liii., 12.)

1. *Origin of the Germanic Nations.*

The origin of the Germanic nations is involved in uncertainty. The inhabitants of the beautiful regions of Italy, who had never known a rougher country, could hardly believe that any nation had

deserted its native soil to dwell in the forests of Germany, where severe cold prevailed for the greater part of the year, and where, even in summer, impenetrable woods prevented the genial rays of the sun from reaching the ground. They thought that the Germans must have lived there from the beginning, and therefore called them *indigenæ*, or natives of the soil. (*Germ.*, 2.) Modern inquiries, however, have traced the descent of the Germanic race from the inhabitants of Asia; since it is now indisputably established that the Teutonic dialects belong to one great family with the Latin, the Greek, the Sanscrit, and the other languages of the Indo-European chain. Von Hammer calls the Germans a Bactriano-Median nation. He makes the name *Germani*, or *Sermani*, in its primitive import, to have meant those who followed the worship of Buddha; and hence the Germans, according to him, are that ancient and primitive race who came down from the mountains of Upper Asia, the cradle of the human species, and spreading themselves over the low country more to the south, gave origin to the Persian and other early nations. Hence the name *Dschermania* applied in early times to all that tract of country which lay to the north of the Oxus. The land of *Erman*, therefore, which was situate beyond this river, and which corresponds to the modern *Chorasin*, is made by Von Hammer the native home of the Germanic race, and the Germans themselves are, as he informs us, called *Dschermani*, their primitive name, by the Oriental writers down to the fourteenth century. (*Wien. Jahrb.*, vol. ii., p. 319. Compare vol. ix., p. 39.) Another remarkable circumstance is, that, besides the name referred to, that of the modern *Prussians* may be found under its primitive form in the Persian tongue. We have there the term *Pruschan*, or *Peruschan*, in the sense of "a people." In Meninski (i., p. 533), we have *Berussan* and *Beruschan*, in the sense of "*communitas ejusdem religionis*;" while in Ferghengi Schuuri, *Peruschan*, or *Poruschan*, more than once occurs (vol. i., B., 182, &c). Even the name *Sachsen*, or *Sassen* (Saxons), is to be found in the Persian tongue under the form *Sassan*, as indicating not only the last dynasty of the Persian Empire (the Sassanides), but also those acquainted with the doctrines of the Dessatin, the old Persian dialect of which is far more nearly related to the Gothic than the modern Persian to the German. In the Oriental histories, moreover, mention is made of the dynasty of the sons of Boia, in whom we may easily recognize the progenitors of the Boii; while traces of the name of the Catti may be found in that of *Kat*, in Chorasin. (*Ferg. Schuuri, B.*, 231.) Even as early as the time of Herodotus, the name of the Γερμάνιοι appears among the an-

cient Persian tribes (*Herod.*, i., 125), while the analogies between the Persian and German are so striking as to have excited the attention of every intelligent scholar. And, besides all this, an ancient Georgian MS. of laws, not long since brought to light, proves conclusively that the Georgian nation had among them *ordeals* precisely similar to those of the early Germans, and also the same judicial forms of proceeding, and the same system of satisfactions to be paid in cases of homicide, according to the rank of the party slain. (*Annal. de Legislat. et de Jurispr.*, *N.* 40, *Paris*, 1829. Compare, on the whole subject, *Kruse's Archiv der Germanischen Völkerstämme*, ii., p. 124, *seqq.*) If these premises be correct, the commonly received etymology of the name *Germani*, which makes it equivalent to "war-men," or "warriors," falls, of course, to the ground. (Consult notes on chapter ii.) It may not be amiss, however, after having stated what appears to be the most probable view of the subject, to give a few other etymologies for the name *Germani*, each of which has its advocates. Thus, Althamer makes *Germanus* equivalent to "*homo prorsus virilis*," and the same, in fact, as *Alaman*, i. e., *Ganz-Mann*. Wackernagel, on the other hand, explains *Germanus* by *G'ermanus*, i. e., *Volksgenosse*. Luden thinks that the term *Germania* is nothing more than the German *Wehrmannei*, and that there were several such *Germaniæ*, or "confederacies" (*Eidsgenossenschaften*), such as those of the Cherusci, the Catti, the Cauci, &c.; and hence the union of all of these would form what he terms "*Gesammtgermanien*." (*Gesch. der Deutschen*, i., p. 163.) And, finally, the name *Germani* is supposed by some to be derived from *ger*, which, according to them, appears in the French *guerre*, "war," and *man*. (Compare the etymological remarks under the article *Teutones*.)

2. *Geographical Acquaintance with Ancient Germany.*

Our information concerning the geography of ancient Germany is very scanty and uncertain. The Greek and Roman writers, from whom our knowledge of it is derived, knew very little about it themselves. A knowledge of the German Ocean, and the northern parts of Europe, had been acquired, first by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, who procured tin from the Cassiterides or from Britain, and amber from the shores of the Baltic (see c. 45); and, in the year B C. 400, by Himilco the Carthaginian, whose voyage has been described by the poet Avienus (*Plin.*, ii., 67); in B.C. 330, by Hecatæus and Philemon (*Plin.*, iv., 13, or 27); and about the same time, by Ephorus and Clitarchus (*Strab.*, vii., 2, 1, p. 293); by Timæus, Xen-

ophon of Lampsacus, Sotacus, Nicias, Xenocrates, Mithradates, and especially Pytheas of Massilia, who, in the year B.C. 320, sailed to Thule, and thence into the Baltic. (*Strab.*, i., 4; ii., 3, 4; iii., 2; iv., 4, 5. *Plin.*, iv., 16, or 27, 30; xxxvii., 2, or 11.) The knowledge which the Romans possessed of Germany and the western parts of Europe was derived principally from the expeditions of Cæsar, Drusus Germanicus, Germanicus, and Ahenobarbus. Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius, made four expeditions into Germany, and dug the canal between the Rhine and the Chisala (*Yssel*). He was the first who navigated the German Ocean, but did not advance further than the mouth of the Amisia (*Ems*), in the territory of the Cauci. Germanicus, the son of Drusus (A.D. 14–16), made four expeditions into Germany, and advanced still further; he was shipwrecked on the territory of the Frisii (*Ann.*, i., 49–52, 55–59, 60–71; ii., 5–26, 41–46). L. Domitius Ahenobarbus crossed the Elbe, and penetrated further into Germany than any of his predecessors. (*Ann.*, i., 63; iv., 44. *Suet.*, *Ner.*, iv.) Tiberius advanced to the Arctic Sea (*Ann.*, ii., 26, 47; xii., 39. *Dio.*, lv., 6, 8, 28; lvi., 25. *Suet.*, *Tib.*, 9, 17, 18, 20. *Vell.*, ii., 97, 104–110, 120.) This expedition of Tiberius, however, Strabo (vii., 1, p. 291) and Tacitus himself (c. 34) attribute to Drusus Germanicus. On the south side of Germany the Romans made no conquests beyond the Danube; but they obtained some geographical knowledge through the journeys of the traders who procured amber from the shores of the Baltic, and from their wars with the Daci, Marcomanni, and other tribes on this frontier. Strabo wrote in the age of Tiberius, when the Romans possessed a more accurate knowledge of Germany than at any other time, through the expeditions of which we have just spoken. After this period the Romans were almost entirely shut out of Germany. Strabo, however, is exceedingly careless. He did not read even Cæsar's Gallic war with sufficient attention to understand it, and confuses almost every thing which he extracts from the accounts brought home by Pytheas. Our difficulties are, moreover, increased by the inaccuracy of the text. Pomponius Mela is worth nothing. Pliny, likewise, was very careless, as we see, even in what he says of Italy; we can not, therefore, look for much accuracy in his account of Germany. His work is principally valuable for the proper names. The imperfect character of the geographical knowledge which Tacitus possessed of Germany is manifest from his work upon the subject. Ptolemy has ventured to give a map of Germany, and to lay down the latitudes and longitudes of a number of towns and mouths of rivers. The greater part

of these he never visited himself; and who, in that age, could have furnished him with the requisite information? Indeed, his map bears but a faint resemblance to the actual shape and features of Germany; and, in the majority of instances, it can with difficulty be determined whether the towns he mentioned existed at all. There is this additional disadvantage in his book, that he defines positions by numbers, which, of all things, are the most liable to alteration through the mistakes of the transcribers. One of the most valuable geographical monuments of antiquity, Antoninus's Itinerary, compiled under the direction of J. Cæsar and Antony or Augustus, is available only for a few roads on the frontier. The Peutingerian Table is frequently of use in making maps; since, though the countries are excessively distorted, the distances between the towns laid down on it are given: but it is of scarcely any service in the case of Germany. Inscriptions and coins, again, which afford some of the best means of defining the situations of places, are of rare occurrence in Germany. But, in addition to all these difficulties and disadvantages, the wandering and unsettled character of the Germans themselves renders it totally impossible to lay down a map which should represent the relative positions of the tribes at any one period, or for any length of time, though we can generally determine the position which individual tribes occupied at some time or other. This is seen from the wide discrepancies between Tacitus and his contemporaries, and Ptolemy, and from such glimpses as history affords us of the migrations of several of the tribes . . . . c. 2, 16, 27, 28, 30, 31, &c.

GOTHĪNI. A German tribe, who are supposed by some to have lived in *Cracow*, or on the banks of the Marus (*March*), as it is said that the Quadi imposed a tribute upon them; and Ptolemy (ii., 11) mentions towns here having a Celtic name and origin, adding ὑφ' οὓς (τοὺς Κουάδους) τὰ σιδηρωρυχεῖα (either where are the modern *Feldsburg*, *Eisgrub*, and *Niclasburg*, not far from *Cracow*, on the western bank of the Vistula, or at *Iglawa*, *Oslawa*, *Schwarza*, *Zwiltawa*, between Bohemia and Moravia), καὶ ἡ Λοῦνα ὕλη (*Manhart*). Others place the Gothini on the south of the Danube, where there are several iron mines in Styria . . . . . . c. 43

GOTŌNES. The name *Gotones* is synonymous with that of Γύθωνες (*Ptol.*), or Goths. They were frequently erroneously confounded with the Getæ and Scythians. Pytheas is the first who mentions them, when they lived on the right bank of the Vistula, and on the coast of the Baltic, on the borders of Silesia and Poland, and afterward a part of them in Scandinavia, where their name appears in

Gothland, Gothenburg, Codanus Sinus, and *Gedanum.* Pliny and Tacitus do not make them reach to the sea. A portion of them were members of the Marcomannic league (*Ann.*, ii., 62). They first appear under the name of Goths in the time of Caracalla. Somewhere about the middle of the second century, they seem to have wandered from the Vistula to the neighborhood of the *Dnieper* and *Dniester*, and incessantly harassed the province of Dacia. Under Gallienus they devastated Thrace and Macedonia; and a portion of them penetrated into Asia Minor, and burned the temple of Diana at Ephesus. About this period they spread eastward along the northern coast of the Euxine. In the year 269, they were defeated by Claudius in Mœsia. Shortly afterward Aurelian abandoned Dacia to them; and they were now divided into *Ostro-Goths*, or East-Goths, inhabiting the shores of the Euxine, and *Visi-Goths*, or West-Goths, who occupied Dacia. The Borysthenes formed the boundary of the two divisions. About the year 375, the Huns, under Attila, drove the Ostrogoths upon their western neighbors, who retired before them, and were allowed by the Emperor Valens to settle in Mœsia. Here disputes arose between them and the Romans, and Valens was killed in attempting to oppose them. In the reign of Honorius, Alaric, at the head of the Visigoths, invaded Italy, but was defeated by Stilicho. He soon returned, however, and made himself master of Rome. His successor, Ataulph, made peace with the Romans, and withdrew to the south of Gaul, from which the Visigoths afterward crossed to Spain, where they maintained their ground till they were conquered by the Moors. After the death of Attila, the Ostrogoths emancipated themselves from the dominion of the Huns; and, under Theodoric, defeated Odoacer and subdued Italy (A.D. 489). But their dominion here was overthrown by Narses, the general of Justinian, in 554, and the remnant of their race became amalgamated with the other inhabitants of Italy.

H.

HELLUSĬI. A German tribe dwelling in the extreme north, of whom nothing certain is known. (Consult notes on *Germania*, c. 46) . . . . c. 46

HELVECŌNES. A German tribe, who dwelt between *Ukermark* and *Priegnitz*. In Ptolemy they are called Αἰλουαίωνες (*ed. Erasm.*), or Ἐλούωνες (*ed. Mirand.*) . . . . c. 43

HERCYNĬA SILVA. This was the general name of the large mountain chain which separates the interior of Germany from the tracts adjacent to the Danube; commencing with the *Black Forest*, run-

ning northward till it crosses the *Main*, then eastward, comprising what are now called the *Spessart Wald* and *Franken Wald*, through Bohemia and the north of Hungary. (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, vi., 25; *Strabo*, vii., p. 207, 290, 292; *Plin.*, xvi., 2; *Ptol.*, ii., 11.) These writers, however, do not all quite agree in their description. Ptolemy assigns much narrower limits to the name, and applies it to the ridge between the Gabretan Forest and the Sarmatian Mountains, which unite the Carpathian and Sudetan Mountains. Cæsar's account of it was derived from report. At a later period, the Romans, in their wars with Maroboduus, whose possessions lay among the Böhmer Wald Mountains, became personally acquainted with it. Different names were afterward given to the several subdivisions of this chain. *Silva Marciana* was the *Schwarz Wald*, or Black Forest: this name became known to the Romans in their war with the Allemanni; it is found in the Peutingerian Table. The Helvetii had inhabited it in former times, but were expelled by the wandering Suevi; Ptolemy called it *τὴν* Ἐλουηττίων *ἔρημον*. The name Abnoba, which belongs to the ridge in which the Danube rises, was given by Ptolemy to a chain of mountains which he makes to run parallel to the Rhine, from the Main to the source of the Amisia (*Ems*), which, according to him, rises in it. From *Fichtelberg* eastward, through Bohemia to Moravia, where it meets with the Hercynian chain, runs a ridge called by Ptolemy Mount Sudeta. South of this, following what is now called the *Böhmer Wald*, but extending to a greater breadth toward the north, lay the Gabretan Forest (*ἡ Γάβρητα ὕλη*). On each side of the River *March* lay the Forest of Luna. The most eastern range, extending from the Danube, where it turns southward, to the Carpathian Mountains, is called by Ptolemy the Sarmatic Mountains. These are the mountains and forests which are frequently, by the Roman writers, comprehended under the name of the Hercynian Forest . . . . c. 28

Hercynĭus Saltus. The same as Hercynia Silva, which see.

Herminŏnes. Consult notes on chap. ii.

Hermunduri. (Penult doubtful, as both Ἑρμόνδοροι and Ἑρμονδοῦροι occur. The short quantity, however, is to be preferred.) A German tribe, who occupied what is now *Saxony* and *Anhalt*, between the Sala (Francorum) and the Albis. (*Flumen Albis, qui Semnonum Hermundurorumque fines præterfluit. Vell.*, ii., 106.) Toward the west they bordered on the Cherusci and the *Thüringer Wald*, and the Sala (*Ann.*, xiii., 57) divided them from the Catti. From *Ann.*, xii., 30, we gather, that on the east they dwelt near the Quadi, whose territories lay in *Moravia* and *Upper Hungary*,

with whom, in conjunction with the Lygii, whose possessions were situated in the western part of the *Carpathian Mountains*, they waged war. Accordingly, the Hermunduri would live about the sources of the *Elbe*, in the north of *Bohemia*. Their name is not mentioned by Ptolemy; and as we have not the least hint in history that they were annihilated in war, it is probable that the *Tauriochæmæ*, whom he places in their country, were the same people under another name. In the fifth century they appear in the same district, under the name of *Thuringi*. In the name *Hermunduri*, *Hermun* is probably not an essential part, but merely marks that they belong to the Herminones. *Duri* seems to be their real name; and this root appears, with a German ending, in *Thur-ingi*. A division of the Hermunduri dwelt on the banks of the Danube, in the eastern part of *Franconia*. From a fragment of Dio Cassius, we learn that Domitius Ahenobarbus (A.D. 2) assigned them this abode when wandering in search of new settlements. The Turoni, on the northern side of the *Main*, mentioned by Ptolemy, are probably a branch of the same people. The towns mentioned by Ptolemy as belonging to them are, *Λοκόριτον* (*Lohr*), *Σεγόδουνον* (*Wurceburg*), *Δηούονα* (*Schweinfurth*, or *Detwang*), Βέργιον (*Bamberg*, or *Berching*), Μενόσγαδα (*Baruth*), Καντίοιβις (*Windsheme*), Βίβακον (*Suabach*) . . . . c. 41, 42

I.

INGÆVONES. Consult notes on chap. ii. . . . . . c. 2
ISTÆVONES. Consult notes on chap. ii. . . . . . c. 2

L.

LANGOBARDI. A German tribe, who frequently changed their settlements. At first they dwelt in the neighborhood of the Lower Elbe, in the tract called *Bardengau*, between *Magdeburg*, *Lüneburg*, and *Hamburg*, where the town of *Bardwick* stands, and in which they were subdued by Tiberius (*Ptol.*, ii., 11; *Vell.*, ii., 106), who moved them beyond the Elbe. They then advanced more into the interior of the country, to the neighborhood of the Semnones; and, together with these, revolted from Maroboduus, under whose dominion they then were, to Arminius (*Ann.*, ii., 45, 46; xi., 17), and assisted Italicus, the banished king of the Cherusci (*Ann.*, xi., 16, 17). But in the Marcomannic war, having crossed the Danube, they were defeated by Vindex and Candidus. Afterward, on the decline of the power of the Cherusci, they extended themselves to the Rhine; and here they are placed by Ptolemy, between the Bructeri

and Tencteri. They did not, however, remain here long, the Saxon league drove them back to the Elbe. In the fifth century they took possession of part of Hungary, on the northern bank of the Danube, and in the sixth century, under the guidance of Audoinus, they crossed this river and established themselves in Pannonia. Then, at the invitation of Narses, and led by Alboinus across the Alps (A.D. 568), they settled in *Lombardy*, which Charlemagne subdued (A.D. 774), having taken Desiderius, the last king. Tacitus has here omitted the Burgundiones, as in his time they were unknown to the Romans. They afterward, with the Langobardi, settled upon the *Decumates agri*. Thence they made an irruption into Gaul, and seized upon the lands which still bear their name . . . . c. 40

Lemovĭi. A German tribe, who seem to have dwelt near the town and River *Leba*. They are mentioned by no other writer but Tacitus . . . . c. 43

Lygĭi. A German tribe, whose territory extended from the sources of the River Vistula to about the middle of its course. To the south they bordered on the Carpathian Mountains, to the west on the *Riesengebirge*, and to the north on the Burgundii; including the southern part of *Silesia*, the western part of *Galicia*, and some parts of *Poland* west of the Vistula. Some of them joined the Marcomanni and Hermunduri against the Quadi; others, during the reign of Probus, under the guidance of their king, Semno, with the Burgundii and Vandals, advanced as far as the Rhine against the Romans. After this period their name disappears (*Ann.*, xii., 29, 30; *Dio*, lxvii., 5). Some identify them with the Ligues, or Ligurians, in Gaul; and suppose that, having been conquered by the Gauls, they migrated first into Italy, and then into Germany . c. 43

M.

Manĭmi. A German tribe, supposed to have lived at the mouth of the *Neisse*. It is impossible, however, to determine their precise position . . . . c. 43

Marcomanni. A German tribe, of whom we first hear in the army of Ariovistus, when he was at war with Cæsar and the Helvetians (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, i., 51), on the Rhine; then between the *Main* and the *Neckar*. After Cæsar's death they dwelt between the Danube and the *Drave*, in *Austria* and *Hungary*, till the Romans conquered Pannonia and the Noric Alps, when they withdrew to the opposite side of the river, into the country formerly occupied by the Boii, whom they expelled. This they did under the guidance of

Maroboduus, who, in his youth, had come to Rome and been educated at the court of Augustus. He raised his people to a high pitch of prosperity, and formed a league including a great number of the Suevic tribes, of which the Langobardi and Semnones were the most northerly. His power had become formidable to Rome, and Tiberius prepared to invade his dominions. But a sudden insurrection of the Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes compelled Tiberius to conclude a treaty with him (*Vell.*, ii., 108–110 ; *Ann.*, ii., 16). The Langobardi and Semnones having withdrawn from Maroboduus, and attached themselves to Arminius, the chief of the Cherusci, a war ensued between them. Inguiomerus, the uncle of Arminius, came over to Maroboduus, who was defeated, and compelled to retire among the Marcomanni, and apply to Rome for assistance (*Ann.*, ii., 44–46). It appears that a peace was then concluded between them. Maroboduus was soon after expelled by Catualda, and forced to take refuge in Italy: he lived there, at Ravenna, for eighteen years. Catualda was driven out by the Hermunduri, and also fled to Tiberius for protection. The followers of these two princes were settled beyond the Danube, between the *Morava* and *Gran*, and Vannius, from the tribe of the Quadi, was appointed as their king (*Ann.*, ii., 62, 63 ; xii., 29, 30 ; *Hist.*, iii., 5). Peace was maintained between the Romans and the tribes along the Danube till the reign of Domitian, when hostilities broke out, and continued almost uninterruptedly till the destruction of the Roman Empire (*Dio*, lxvii., 7 ; *Plin.*, *Pan.*, viii., 12). For an account of the great Marcomannic war, in the reign of M. Aurelius, see *Dio*, lxviii., 9 ; lxxi., 3, 8–15, 20–33 ; lxxii., 2. After the death of Attila, in whose army they served, they are not any more heard of. Ptolemy mentions as their cities, Μαρόβουδον (*Budweis*), Οὔσβιον (either *Marbach* or *Ispern*), 'Αβίλουνον (*Zlabings*), 'Ρεδιντουΐον (*Prague*), Νομιστήριον (either *Niemes* or *Nimptsch*), Κολάγκορον (either *Zittavia* or *Collochau*) . . . . c. 42, 43

Marsi. A German tribe, supposed to have lived at first in the neighborhood of the Albis (*Elbe*) and Visurgis (*Weser*); then between the Rhine and the Chisala (*Yssel*), from *Paderborn* to the Visurgis; and at length, when driven out by Drusus, to have settled in the lands of the Bructeri and Sigambri, between the Amisia (*Ems*) and Luppia (*Lippe*): but from *Ann.*, i., 45–50, 56 ; ii., 6, 7, 25, 26, it has been conjectured that their settlements are to be looked for in the neighborhood of the River Logana (*Lahn*). The Marsigni (c. 43) are, perhaps, the same race, or their descendants . . . . c. 2

have supposed, they were the originators of the Frank league. Probus is reported to have settled one hundred thousand of them in Thrace. Plutarch (*Æm. Paull.*, 12) says: "*Βαστάρναι ἄνδρες οὐ γεωργεῖν εἰδότες, οὐ πλεῖν, οὐκ ἀπὸ ποιμνίων ζῆν νέμοντες, ἀλλ' ἓν ἔργον καὶ μίαν τέχνην μελετῶντες ἀεὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιταττομένων. Ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα, θαυμαστοὶ δὲ τὰς μελέτας, μεγάλαυχοι δὲ καὶ λαμπροὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειλαῖς, θάρσος παρέστησαν τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ δόξαν, ὡς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐχ ὑπομενούντων, ἀλλ' ἐκπλαγησομένων τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν κίνησιν, ἔκφυλον οὖσαν καὶ δυςπρόςοπτον*" . . . . c. 46

Q.

Quădi. The Romans first became acquainted with this powerful German tribe after the conquest of Pannonia. They always appear in the closest connection with the Marcomanni. Their most ancient settlements on the Danube reached eastward to the Tibiscus, or *Teis*, where they bordered on the Getæ; but partly in consequence of the irruption of the Iazyges, partly through the influence of Maroboduus, they withdrew westward. The name Quadi was given to the mixed tribe composed of the followers of Maroboduus and Catualda, settled by the Romans between the Marus and the Cusus. Toward the north they reached to the Carpathian Mountains, beyond which dwelt the Lygii. Their western limits can not be determined with accuracy. The original tribe of the Quadi seems to have extended westward beyond the Morava, and to have united with their brethren on the east. They carried on wars with M. Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, Gallienus, Aurelian, Constantius, Julian, and Valentinian I., till the fifth century, when they appear to have coalesced with other nations. (*Dio Cass.*, lxxi., 8, *seqq.*; lxxii., 2; lxxvii., 20.) Their cities mentioned by Ptolemy are, *Φρουργισατίς*, Κοριδοργίς, Μεδοσλάνιον, Ῥοβόδουνον, *Φιληκία*, Μελιόδουνον, the sites of which can not be determined with any accuracy, Ἀνδουέτιον (*Dioszeg*), Κελμαντία (*Szomolyan*), Ἄναβον (*Abany*), Σιγγονή (*Treutsin*), Ἔβουρον (*Berun*), Ἀρσίκουα (*Felsi*), Παρίεννα (*Varin*), and Σετουΐα (*Sydzina*) . . . c. 42, 43

R.

Rætĭa appears properly to have comprehended the whole country between the north of Italy and the Danube, and, consequently, to have included Vindelicia. Dio Cassius (liv., 22), in his account of the conquest of the Ræti and Vindelici by Drusus and Tiberius, only mentions the Ræti. Strabo often speaks of them (iv., p. 193,

206; vii., p. 449) as if they were only one people; and Tacitus, in several passages, appears to include Vindelicia in the province of Rætia. In the time of Augustus, however, these two countries formed two separate provinces, of which Rætia was bounded on the west by the Helvetii, on the east by Noricum, on the south by Gallia Cisalpina, and on the north by Vindelicia, from which it was separated by the Lacus Brigantinus, or *Lake of Constance*, and the River *Œnus*, or *Inn.* It included the greater part of the *Tyrol* and the eastern cantons of *Switzerland.* The only town of importance in Rætia was Tridentum (*Trent*), on the Athesis, the capital of the Tridentini . . . . c. 3, 41

Ræti. *Vid.* Rætia.

Reudigni. A German tribe, whose position is quite uncertain. They probably lived near *Lauenberg* . . . . . c. 40

Rhenus. The *Rhine*, rising in the Lepontine Alps, a little to the east of Mount *St. Gothard*, in the country of the *Grisons.* Its whole course is nine hundred miles, of which six hundred and thirty are navigable from Basilia (*Basle*) to the sea. The Rhine formed the boundary between Germany proper and Gallia . . c. 1, &c.

Rugĭi. A German tribe, who lived between the Viadrus (*Oder*) and Vistula. The island of *Rugen* probably took its name from them. After the death of Attila, they took possession of part of *Austria*, *Moravia*, and *Upper Hungary*, but in 480 were either destroyed or dispersed by Odoacer . . . . c. 43

S.

Sarmătæ. The European Sarmatians, the Slavonians of a more recent age, were but little known to the Romans. They are supposed to have occupied *Poland*, *Lithuania*, the eastern part of *Prussia*, *Curonia*, *Livonia*, *Russia*, the lesser *Tartary*, and the Tauric Chersonese . . . . c. 1, 17, 43, 46

Semnones. (The penult is doubtful. Ptolemy has Σέμνονες, and Strabo Σέμνωνες. The short quantity appears more in accordance with analogy.) A branch of the Suevic nation, who lived between the Albis (*Elbe*) and Viadrus (*Oder*), inhabiting the tract which comprises what is now *Mecklenburg* and *Brandenburg*, with part of *Saxony*, *Bohemia*, *Lusatia*, *Silesia*, and *Poland.* They belonged to the kingdom of Maroboduus. The Romans first came in contact with them in the expeditions of Tiberius (*Vell.*, ii., 106, 107); and the wars against Arminius, to whom, together with the Langobardi, they went over from Maroboduus (*Ann.*, ii., 45, 46; *Vell.*, ii., 106, 107); then in the time of Domitian, when a king of theirs, Ma-

T.

TENCTĒRI. A German tribe. *Vid.* USIPII.

TEUTŎNES, or TEUTŎNI. The name of the Teutones was made known to the ancients by Pytheas of Massilia (*Marseilles*), who, in the age of Alexander the Great, about 320 B.C., discovered a nation of that name in the Chersonesus Cimbrica, and on the adjacent islands, or in the present countries of *Holstein*, *Schleswig*, *Denmark*, and perhaps, also, in the southern extremity of *Sweden*. It seems that they had long been settled there, for they lived in houses, and were acquainted with agriculture and commerce. Other traces of the name appear later. Among the Celtic tribes which invaded Greece and besieged Delphi, under the second Brennus (B.C. 278), there was a people called Teutobodiaci, who afterward passed the Hellespont, and settled with the Celts in Galatia, in Asia Minor. About a hundred and sixty years later, the Romans were attacked by the Cimbri and Teutones, who came from the same country, where they had been seen by Pytheas. When the Romans first heard the name of the Teutones, they thought that they were a single tribe. They did not know that it was also the general and ethnographic name of all those nations to which they afterward gave the designation of Germans.

Origin of the name Teutones.

The root of the word *Teuton* is *thu* or *do*, which originally represented the idea of "activity," of "living, procreating, nourishing," and also of "taming, educating, and ruling." From this root are formed the following words, some of which are still used in the popular dialects: *Teut*, "God, creator, ruler, father, nourisher" (*Thor*, *Tuisco*); *thut* or *thiud*, "earth;" *tott*, *döte*, *dote*, "godfather;" *toda*, "nurse;" *thiod*, "father of the people," "lord, ruler, king," in Gothic *thiudans*, in old Bavarian *theodo*; *diet*, "people," in old Swedish *thiaut* and *thyd*; *thiudinassus*, in Gothic, "kingdom." (*Fulda*, *Wurzel-Wörterbuch*). The names of king and of people being both derived from one root, which expresses the notion of ruling, is a fact which proves that they belong to the language of a nation in which there was neither absolute monarchical power, nor absolute submission to their chiefs. This corresponds exactly to the political state of the ancient Teutonic nations, among whom the sovereignty was in the people, and the executive power of the chiefs or kings, although it was obeyed, was always regarded as derived from the people. The idea of ruling, expressed by the root *Teut*, explains

They became, subsequently, a powerful people in Germania Inferior. They were probably the same with the Aduatici of Cæsar . c. 2

U.

Ubĭi. A German tribe, the allies of Cæsar against the Suevi, and subsequently transported by Agrippa (B.C. 38) to the left bank of the Rhine. Their capital, called at first Oppidum Ubiorum, was afterward named Colonia Agrippina or Agrippinensis, when a Roman colony had been established there, first by Agrippa, and subsequently by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus and wife of the Emperor Claudius. It is now *Cologne*. The Ara Ubiorum must not be confounded with the Oppidum Ubiorum. The former was an altar, probably erected to Augustus, like that at Lugdunum (*Suet.*, *Claud.*, 2). Not far from Bonn is a hill called *Godesberg*, and it is highly probable that this is the site of the Ara Ubiorum. That it was somewhere near Bonn is pretty certain. The name Godesberg seems to indicate that the place was the seat of a religious worship of some kind . . . . c. 28

Usipĭi. A German tribe, generally named in connection with the Tencteri. Indeed, these two tribes usually go together in both geography and history. They frequently changed their settlements When driven from their own possessions by the Catti, whom Cæsar calls Suevi (*B. G.*, iv., 1, 4), after wandering in Germany for three years, they came to the Rhine, and, having crossed it, seized upon the lands and dwellings of the Menapii, Eburones, and Condrusi, between the Rhine and Moselle. From this point they spread further into Gaul; but having been put to flight by Cæsar, after a great slaughter, the greater part of the remainder perished in attempting to cross the Rhine. A part of the cavalry, which had not been engaged in the battle, took refuge in the territories of the Sigambri. When the Sigambri removed to Gaul, the Usipii and Tencteri became masters of their possessions on the Lupia (*Lippe*). The Usipii at first dwelt on the east bank of the Rhine, from its eastern mouth to the Lippe, in the tract which the Chamavi and Tubantes occupied before them; but they gradually moved southward. In the time of Claudius and Nero they dwelt between the *Sieg* and the *Lahn*, where they were still in the time of Tacitus. In the time of Ptolemy they inhabited the northern part of the Black Forest. The name of the Usipii disappears from history after the time of Agricola; they became mixed up with the Alemanni. The Tencteri lived south of the Lippe, in the region opposite *Cöln* and *Bonn*. At the time of the expeditions of Drusus and Tiberius, they

had removed eastward, but returned after the defeat of Varus: and in the age of Tacitus, their possessions extended northward to the Lippe, where they bordered on the Bructeri, and southward to the Sieg. Their eastern boundary, according to Ptolemy, was Mount Abnoba, or the ridge which runs northward between the earldom of Mark and the duchy of Westphalia. (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, iv., 1–18; *Dio*, xxxix., 47, 48; liv., 21, 32, 33.)

V.

VANDALĬI. A German tribe, who lived at first on the shores of the Baltic, between the Albis and Vistula, in Pomerania, and the west of Poland; but being forced to evacuate their possessions in their wars with Aurelian and Probus, they first settled in Dacia and Sarmatia, then in Pannonia and Gallia, and in the year 406, together with the Alani, they migrated to Spain. Being afterward overpowered by the Goths, they took refuge in Africa, and were there subdued by Justinian in the year 534.

VANGIŎNES. A German tribe, dwelling on the Rhine, to the east of the Treviri, and north of the Nemetes. Their capital was Borbetomagus, called afterward Augusta Vangionum, and now *Worms* . . . . c. 28

VARĪNI. A German tribe, placed by Ptolemy along the sea, from the mouth of the *Trave* to the *Warne*, which last doubtless took its name from them. They were afterward driven inland by Slavonian tribes, and united themselves with the Saxons. We find some tribes of the Varini in *Thuringia*, others on the banks of the Elbe, and others in the neighborhood of the Rhine, where they were subdued by the Franks. They also appear on the south of the Danube, for they served as auxiliaries under Narses in Italy. Ptolemy calls them *Φαροδηνοί* . . . . c. 40

VENĔDI. A tribe who lived on the eastern bank of the Vistula, round what is now the *Gulf of Dantzic*, and on the mountains called from them *τὰ Οὐενεδικὰ ὄρη*, which separated them from the Gotones, in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and the eastern part of *Prussia*. They were afterward called Winidi, or Wendi. They belonged to the Slavonians, who, after the fifth century, spread over the east of Germany up to and beyond the Elbe, and whose posterity are still found in *Livonia*, *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Lusatia*, *Pomerania*, *Stiria*, &c. A dialect of the Slavonic is still called the Wend language. Many suppose that the Veneti in Italy are a branch of the same people, who migrated southward, and that Vindelicia also took its name from them.

STEMMA

OF

THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

As the relations of the members of the Augustan family are exceedingly intricate, and a knowledge of them is essential for understanding many parts of Tacitus, a stemma of the family is subjoined, drawn up by Lipsius.

C. Octavius, the father of Augustus, was married twice. By his first wife, Ancharia, he had Octavia the elder; by his second wife, Atia (the daughter of Atius Balbus and Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar), he had Octavia the younger, and C. Octavius, afterward Augustus. It is doubtful from which of the daughters the following progeny springs.

I. Octavia was married twice, and had—

- *a.* By C. Marcellus,
  - 1. *M. Marcellus*, m. (1) Pompeia, dr. of Sextus Pompeius, and (2) Julia, dr. of Augustus—had no progeny. Died in his 17th year, B.C. 23.
  - 2. *Marcella*, the elder, m. twice, and had—
    - *a.* By M. Vipsanius Agrippa, — Children of names unknown (*Suet.*, *Aug.*, 63).
    - *b.* By Iulus Antonius Africanus, son of the Triumvir. — *L. Antonius Africanus* (*Annal.*, iv., 44), father or uncle of — *S. Antonius Africanus?* (*Annal.*, xiv., 46.)
  - 3. *Marcella*, the younger.
- *b.* By M. Antonius the Triumvir,
  - 1. *Antonia** the elder. By L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
    - 1. *Domitia*, m. Crispus Passienus?
    - 2. *Domitia Lepida.*
      - *a.* By M. Valerius Barbatus Messalla. — *Valeria Messallina*, m. Claudius, the emperor. (See below.)
      - *b.* By Ap. Junius Silanus? — None?
    - 3. *Cn. Domitius*, by Agrippina. — Nero. m. Octavia and Poppæa.
  - 2. *Antonia* the younger. By Drusus, brother of Tiberius.
    - 1. *Germanicus*, adopted by Tiberius. By Agrippina, dr. of Julia. — See below.
    - 2. *Livia*, or Livilla. m. C. Cæsar, and afterward Drusus, son of Tiberius, is betrothed to Sejanus (*Annal.*, iv., 40).
    - 3. Claudius.
      - *a.* By Plautia Urgulanilla. —
        - 1. *Drusus.* Betrothed to dr. of Sejanus (*Annal.*, iii., 29. *Suet.*, *Claud.*, 27).
        - 2. *Claudia.*
      - *b.* By Ælia Petina. — *Antonia.* m. Pompeius M., killed by Claudius, and Faustus Sulla.
      - *c.* By Valeria Messallina. —
        - 1. *Octavia.* Betrothed to L. Silvanus, mar. Nero, the emperor.
        - 2. *Claudius Britannicus.*

* Tacitus makes Antonia the *younger* wife of Domitius (*Annal.*, iv., 41; xii., 64).

II. AUGUSTUS had no children by his other wives; by Scribonia, daughter of L. Scribonius Libo, he had one daughter, *Julia*. *Julia* was married three times.

- *a.* By M. Marcellus, son of C. Marcellus and Octavia—had no progeny.
- *b.* By M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
  - 1. *Caius Cæsar*, adopted by Augustus, m. Livia, sister of Germanicus, died A.D. 4.
  - 2. *Lucius Cæsar*, adopted by Augustus, betrothed to Æmilia Lepida, died A.D. 2.
  - 3. *Julia*. By L. Æmilius Paulus, son of the Censor.
    - 1. *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, m. Drusilla, dr. of Germanicus.
    - 2. *Æmilia Lepida*.
      - *a.* Betrothed to Claudius.
      - *b.* By Ap. Junius Silanus.
        - 1. *L. Silanus*. Betrothed to Octavia, dr. of Claudius.
        - 2. *M. Silanus*. Proconsul of Asia.
        - 3. *Junia Calvina*. m. son of Vitellius.
      - *c.* By Drusus, son of Germanicus? None.
  - 4. *Agrippina*. By Germanicus.
    - 1. *Nero*, m. Julia, dr. of Drusus, son of Tiberius (*Annal.*, vi., 27).
    - 2. *Drusus*, m. Æmilia Lepida (*Annal.*, vi., 40).
    - 3. CAIUS CALIGULA.
    - 4. *Agrippina*, By Cn. Domitius, NERO.
    - 5. *Drusilla*, m. L. Cassius and M. Æmilius Lepidus.
    - 6. *Livia*, or Livilla, m. M. Vinicius and Quinctilius Varus?
  - 5. Agrippa Postumus, adopted by Augustus, put to death by Tiberius, A.D. 14.
- *c.* By Tiberius, had none.

III. Augustus, after divorcing his former wife, Scribonia, married Livia Drusilla, by whom he had no children. Livia, however, had been previously married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius, afterward emperor, and Drusus, who was born three months after her marriage with Augustus.

1. TIBERIUS NERO, adopted by Augustus.
   - *a.* By Vipsania Agrippina, gr. dr. of Atticus.
     - *Drusus*, By Livia, sister of Germanicus.
       1. *Ti. Gemellus*, killed by Caligula (*Suet.*, *Cal.*, 25).
       2. — *Gemellus* (*Ann.*, ii., 84; iv., 15).
       3. *Julia.*
          - *a.* By Nero, son of Germanicus. — None.
          - *b.* By Rubellius Blandus (*Ann.*, vi., 27). — *Rubellius Plautus* (*Annal.*, xvi., 10).
   - *b.* By Julia, dr. of Augustus. — None.
2. DRUSUS.
   - By Antonia the younger. — See above.

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